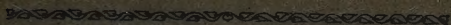


ECLECTIC ENGLISH CLASSICS



THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
ADDISON

BY
LORD MACAULAY



PR
306
M3
1894

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY
NEW YORK · CINCINNATI · CHICAGO

XAVIER
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



824
m



J. Addwor.

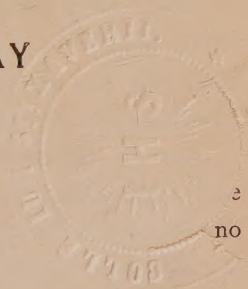
ECLECTIC ENGLISH CLASSICS

THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
ADDISON

WITHDRAWN

BY

LORD MACAULAY



3
no

NEW YORK . . . CINCINNATI . . . CHICAGO
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

PR
3306
M3
1894

Copyright, 1894, by
AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY.

MACAULAY — ADDISON.

W. P. 7



INTRODUCTION.

MACAULAY, in his "Essay upon Addison," has related the principal events in his life with a fullness of detail that makes it unnecessary to dwell upon them here, except incidentally and so far as they connect themselves with a discussion of his writings. Written in the maturity of his powers, and divested of some of the redundance attaching to his earlier style, Lord Macaulay presents to us a most winning portrait of this great master of English prose, with a truthfulness, a graphic power, and a beauty of diction, such as, up to the time of its appearance, fifty years ago, did not exist in the language. It forms at once a splendid tribute to Addison's genius and to his many virtues as a man.

It is remarkable, in view of the unique and distinguished place occupied by Addison among English men of letters, that no complete and carefully annotated edition of his works has yet been made; and, except for the narrative of Tickell prefixed to the edition of 1721, no account of him was published during his lifetime, or subsequently, by any of his contemporaries.

If one whose acquaintance with English literature was precise as well as extensive, and who was thereby qualified for judgment, were asked to indicate which, among its eminent writers, had exerted the most salutary influence in his generation, in reforming

and correcting, not only public taste, but public morals as well, he would with little hesitation, we think, point to Joseph Addison.

As a poet, Addison's talents did not fit him to excel; and had his fame rested entirely upon his translations from the Latin poets, the "Campaign," an apotheosis of Marlborough, the tragedy of "Cato," and his other verses, he would have been assigned a niche in the British Temple of Fame, doubtless in a line with Gay, Tickell, and Parnell, but certainly much below Pope.

In that kind of prose literature, however, which he may be said to have created in those charming papers in the "Tatler," and in the "Spectator" particularly,—of which nearly one half emanated from his pen,—he was unapproachable. Imitators by the score he has had,—in the "World," to which Lord Chesterfield and Horace Walpole contributed, the "Connoisseur," the "Mirror," the "Lounger," and Dr. Johnson's sententious "Rambler;" but, as Macaulay said of Boswell in his immortal biography, Addison distanced all competitors. "Eclipse is first, and all the rest nowhere."

No example presents itself in our language, and certainly not in that of any other nation, of writings of such rare and precious merit, produced, as were Addison's essays in the "Spectator," from day to day, going to the press from his writing table, often with the ink scarcely dry upon them, unpremeditated, as in many cases they must have been, and with little or no opportunity of revision.

Addison, as many other distinguished men have done, ripened slowly; and there is a broad line of distinction between his earlier prose works and the papers in the "Spectator," in which, later in life, he at last found his inspiration. It must be regarded as a misfortune, that with his powers of observation, and his lively

interest in what was going on about him, Addison should, in the narrative of his travels in Italy, have given us so few glimpses of the life of the Italian people, or of the men—the statesmen and the scholars—who were then shaping the destinies of Italy, or enriching its literature. As Macaulay has pointed out, the Latin writers with whom he seems to have been most familiar, and of whom he is oftenest reminded in the presence of some memorable scene, are, many of them, but little esteemed among us now. In fact, while, undoubtedly, Latin composition was cultivated at the universities, and an ease and elegance attained in it at that time far more than is common at present, the acquaintance of our scholars with the language and its literature is much more extensive, exact, and profound than we have any evidence of its being then.

Of Italian literature,—that of Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Ariosto, and others,—which had exerted so powerful an influence upon that of England in the earlier period, from Chaucer to Shakespeare, the writers of Queen Anne's time knew but little; and from their study of French literature, then more in favor with them, their style had acquired a stiffness and formality, from which Addison, among the rest, was long in emancipating himself.

In order rightly to estimate our indebtedness—not only in a literary sense, but also in their influence on the amelioration of manners and the elevation of the tone of public morality—to these little essays in the “Spectator,” which found their way to many thousand breakfast tables every week-day morning, the condition of literature and of society at the dawn of the eighteenth century should be considered.

The nation had been slow in recovering from that state of intellectual and spiritual torpor into which the license, the ribaldry,

and the infamous excesses of the Restoration of Charles II. had plunged it. The cynicism and irreverence of Charles's court had blunted the moral sensibilities of the people, debauched the public conscience, and destroyed, apparently, all memory of that chivalrous feeling, that reverence for women, and those noble ideals of life and conduct, which distinguished the men of the Elizabethan age and those of a later generation. Of the coarseness, indecency, and profligacy of the people of fashion in London, at this and a later period, the works of Swift, the novels of Defoe, and the graphic and terrible realism of Hogarth's paintings, furnish abundant evidence.

Of polite literature, in any strict sense, such as existed in France and in Italy at the time, there was none. Books were being multiplied; but they were mostly of a controversial or religious character, or translations from the classics, the reading of which was confined to the few. Of reading for the people, of an entertaining or instructive kind, there was scarcely any deserving mention. The people of London were still crowding the playhouses to witness and applaud the vile entertainments provided for them by Congreve, Etherege, Wycherley, and other lesser wits of the town, and to the production of which the great Dryden himself—though a moralist by profession, and a man of decorous life—did not disdain to prostitute his talents.

The ignorance prevailing among the rural population, even of the better class, and among the tradespeople in the provincial towns, would be incredible, if we failed to consider the difficulties of communication between the metropolis and the different parts of the kingdom, and the fact that no such means of diffusing intelligence as is furnished by a newspaper press existed in England prior to 1685. Until the reign of William III. no

systematic effort was made by the government for the construction of highways for travel from London into the provinces. People of means, in town or country, whom business or pleasure led to take these journeys, were compelled to use private conveyances, or to depend upon the stagecoaches, which crawled along at a snail's pace over roads, where in summer the luckless traveler was choked or blinded with dust, and in winter stuck fast in a quagmire, or was spilt into a ditch.

Of the London of his day, Addison, could he visit it now, would find few traces in that vast metropolis, with its teeming millions and the almost infinite variety of its appliances for not only the comforts of life, but for so many of its refinements and luxuries. With a population of less than half a million then, but little provision was made for the comfort or protection of its citizens. Only a few of its streets were paved, and most of them were rendered filthy by gutters on each side, which, like the Tiber, in stormy weather "rose above their banks," and in hot and dry weather became a fruitful source of disease. The arrangements for lighting them were of the most primitive kind; thousands of little tin lamps, supplied with oil of inferior quality, being fixed on posts in the main thoroughfares, or swung from iron rods projecting over the street. The city police consisted of a number of ancient watchmen, who were sent out at intervals during the night, armed with poles, rattles, and lanterns, and who, so far from inspiring a wholesome terror of the law in evil doers, were, by reason of their age and infirmities, made the victims of the thieves whom they encountered in their rounds, or of the riotous Mohawk or Macaroni reeling homeward after a late debauch. Sedan chairs and hackney coaches were the only vehicles in use for public convenience in the streets; the former

being patronized by the people of fashion when on their way to the court drawing-rooms, levees, theaters, routs, and other assemblies of the *beau monde*. In 1685 there was no daily newspaper in London; and, although a number of weekly and semi-weekly publications of a political character had made their appearance in the interval, it was not until 1691 that the "Athenian Gazette," a weekly journal of literature, in which "all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious" would be discussed, was published. Defoe's "Review," issued in 1704, in penny weekly numbers,—in which, among other matters, the doings of a "Scandal Club" were described, and which may have furnished a hint to Steele,—preceded the "Tatler" by about five years.

When the "Tatler" was projected, the middle classes, engrossed in their business or in politics, were indifferent to the pleasures and advantages of literature. There was no general system of education, no diffusion of knowledge, and but few of the refinements of our diversified social structure. The taste for reading itself had to be created, as well as the means of gratifying it. Addison announced in one of the early "Spectators" that as Socrates was said to have "brought philosophy down from heaven to inhabit among men, so I shall be ambitious to have it said of me that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea tables and in coffeehouses."

No account of Addison, indeed, could be made complete without reference to the coffeehouses and the clubs, many of which are immortalized in the "Tatler" and "Spectator," and which were at that time such important factors in the life of London. In the first decade of the last century, the coffeehouses alone

numbered nearly two thousand. These were not merely places of refreshment, but of public resort, in which every class, profession, occupation, or political opinion was represented. There were coffeehouses for the clergy, others for the wits and fine gentlemen, others, again, for the lawyers, the merchants, the stockjobbers, and the politicians. The club, though a natural outgrowth, to some extent, of the coffeehouse, was more exclusive in its character, corresponding in many respects to our modern institution. The coffeehouse, on the other hand, was the lyceum of that day, in the free atmosphere of which all matters of public concern were discussed, public opinion largely molded and directed, and a spirit of inquiry fostered, which led the way eventually to those brilliant discoveries in science and the arts by which the last years of the century were distinguished.

The most famous of these for a time was Will's, opened in 1660, owing its reputation to the fact that it was Dryden's custom to visit it "of an afternoon," where he had his special place assigned him, and where callow bards crowded to get a nod from the great man, or his favorable comment on some new sonnet or epigram. Addison's resort was Button's, in the immediate neighborhood of Will's, which he has made memorable, too, as the meeting place of the Spectator's Club. He evidently loved a coffeehouse as much as Dr. Johnson did a tavern, and it is to this inclination we are indebted for many of the most charming papers in the "Spectator." There, surrounded by that group of friends, — the "little senate," as Pope sneeringly characterized it, — we can imagine the discourse of this man, so silent usually, but when with his intimates, as Mary Wortley Montagu said, "the best company in the world." What would we not give had a Boswell been there !

It has been the custom to depreciate Steele's merits as a writer as compared with Addison, and the relative value of his share in their joint work. This test is one, we think, too severe to apply, not to Steele only, but to any other writer in this kind of literature before or since his time. It must be conceded that Steele has done but little to enrich the language, or to add to the harmony, the correctness, or the purity of its diction. There are many defects of style, and errors of taste and judgment, discoverable in his writings; and it is probable, that, but for his association with Addison, they would not have survived the fate of many other works of this character. It may be said, once for all, that style, in the sense we use it when speaking of Addison or Lamb, for instance, cannot be acquired any more than genius can. "The style, it is the man." When he entered upon his labors as an essayist in the "Tatler," Steele fell into the error, not uncommon among his craft, of thinking, that in order the better to accomplish his purpose of general instruction and entertainment, and adapt himself to the comprehension of the people, he should aim, to use his own words, at a certain "incorrectness of style, and writing in an air of common speech." That this absurd resolution, if persisted in, would have proved fatal to his avowed purpose of chastising the vices and follies of society, of correcting the foibles and weaknesses of mankind, regulating the duties and amenities of social intercourse, and cultivating a taste for pure literature, we need not multiply words to demonstrate. It is true, Steele's influence as a moralist was somewhat impaired by the gay and dissipated life he led; and politics and the tumults of party strife left him but little of the leisure which Addison enjoyed. At the same time, he was gifted with acute sensibility and a nature keenly alive and responsive to the ten-

der emotions ; and examples are abundant in his writings to prove that where his feelings were enlisted, or his generous impulses aroused, his style assumes an energy and an animation fully adequate to his subject. Almost alone among the writers of his day, Steele was a consistent champion of women ; and his pen was ever ready in defense of their wit, their virtue, and their beauty. He did much, too, to improve the theater, which, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was still, as it had long been, a nursery and hotbed of vice. Not only by means of his own productions, but by reason of his strictures in the "Tatler" and "Spectator," and his critical discernment, public attention was directed to the merits of Shakespeare's plays, which had for many years been almost entirely banished from the stage.

Nothing can be added by an inferior pen to Macaulay's portrait of Addison. His figure, from the time when he was wont, in meditative mood, to pace the groves of Magdalen College, in what came to be known as "Addison's Walk," to the later years, when, a silent spectator of men, he looked upon the busy scenes about him with an eye so keen but so kindly, is the most familiar, and certainly one of the most lovable, of any in the long roll of English men of letters. To the people who had at length emerged from the arid desert of the Restoration, he opened a fountain of clear, sweet, sparkling water, from his "well of pure English undefiled," with which he invited them to slake their thirst at will.

A perennial stream, it has been flowing down with ever increasing volume from generation to generation to our own day. Modern prose literature may, indeed, be said to have begun with the "Spectator ;" the easy, graceful, elastic movement of its style, and at the same time its aptitude, simplicity, and precision, contrast-

ing strongly with the cumbrous diction, the "long resounding" periods, and the crude forms of expression, so common in even the best writers of the seventeenth century, and in many of Queen Anne's time.

But that for which Addison, perhaps, would have preferred, before all things else, to be held in honor was, that in all his writings he steadily exerted his great powers in promoting the social, moral, and religious advancement of his race. Many of the noble and beneficent measures, with this end in view, by which a part of the last century, and our own particularly, have been distinguished, may be traced directly to the daily, lay discourses of this "parson in a tye-wig." Cato's little senate, since its small beginnings in Button's coffeehouse, has been expanding, until now he is loved and honored with an affection "just this side of idolatry," in far-distant lands, in millions of homes, wherever the English-speaking race is found, and in states and commonwealths that were wildernesses then,—in this Western continent of ours, and in "the long wash of Australasian seas."

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ADDISON.¹

SOME reviewers are of opinion that a lady who dares to publish a book renounces by that act the franchises appertaining to her sex, and can claim no exemption from the utmost rigor of critical procedure. From that opinion we dissent. We admit, indeed, that, in a country which boasts of many female writers eminently qualified by their talents and acquirements to influence the public mind, it would be of most pernicious consequence that inaccurate history or unsound philosophy should be suffered to pass uncensured, merely because the offender chanced to be a lady. But we conceive that, on such occasions, a critic would do well to imitate the courteous knight who found himself compelled by duty to keep the lists against Bradamante.² He, we are told, defended successfully the cause of which he was the champion, but, before the fight began, exchanged Balisarda³ for a less deadly sword, of which he carefully blunted the point and edge.

Nor are the immunities of sex the only immunities which Miss Aikin may rightfully plead. Several of her works, and especially the very pleasing "*Memoirs of the Court of King James I.*," have fully entitled her to the privileges enjoyed by good writers. One

¹ A review of the *Life of Joseph Addison*, by Lucy Aikin, published in 1843.

² A lady knight-errant whose exploits are related in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

³ A sword made by a sorceress, and capable of cutting through the hardest substances. See *Orlando Furioso*, Hoole's translation, xlv. 523.

of those privileges we hold to be this: that such writers, when, either from the unlucky choice of a subject or from the indolence too often produced by success, they happen to fail, shall not be subjected to the severe discipline which it is sometimes necessary to inflict upon dunces and impostors, but shall merely be reminded by a gentle touch, like that with which the Laputan flapper¹ roused his dreaming lord, that it is high time to wake.

Our readers will probably infer from what we have said that Miss Aikin's book has disappointed us. The truth is, that she is not well acquainted with her subject. No person who is not familiar with the political and literary history of England during the reigns of William III., of Anne, and of George I.,² can possibly write a good life of Addison. Now, we mean no reproach to Miss Aikin, and many will think that we pay her a compliment, when we say that her studies have taken a different direction. She is better acquainted with Shakespeare and Raleigh³ than with Congreve and Prior,⁴ and is far more at home among the ruffs and peaked beards of Theobald's⁵ than among the Steenkirks⁶ and flowing periwigs which surrounded Queen

¹ The Laputan flapper was, according to Swift's story of *Gulliver's Voyage* to Laputa, an officer whose business it was to attend his master in his walks, with a blown bladder attached to a stick, with which he roused his attention by a gentle flap, lest he should fall over a precipice or against a post, so constantly wrapped was he in cogitation.

² William III. and his wife Mary, the daughter of James II., were made rulers of England on the expulsion of James, in 1688. Queen Anne succeeded to the throne in 1702, and George I. in 1714. The entire period covered by the reigns of these monarchs was about forty years (1688-1727).

³ William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618) flourished a hundred years before the time of Addison.

⁴ William Congreve (1670-1729), a poet and dramatist, and Matthew Prior (1664-1721), a poet and diplomat, were both contemporaries of Addison.

⁵ A country seat built by Lord Burleigh, Queen Elizabeth's minister; afterwards a residence of James I., who died there.

⁶ Loosely arranged military cravats, worn by the French noblemen after the battle of Steenkirk, in Holland, in which the allies under William III. were defeated.

Anne's tea table at Hampton.¹ She seems to have written about the Elizabethan age, because she had read much about it: she seems, on the other hand, to have read a little about the age of Addison, because she had determined to write about it. The consequence is, that she has had to describe men and things without having either a correct or a vivid idea of them, and that she has often fallen into errors of a very serious kind. The reputation which Miss Aikin has justly earned stands so high, and the charm of Addison's letters is so great, that a second edition of this work may probably be required. If so, we hope that every paragraph will be revised, and that every date and fact about which there can be the smallest doubt will be carefully verified.

To Addison himself we are bound by a sentiment as much like affection as any sentiment can be which is inspired by one who has been sleeping a hundred and twenty years in Westminster Abbey.² We trust, however, that this feeling will not betray us into that abject idolatry which we have often had occasion to reprehend in others, and which seldom fails to make both the idolater and the idol ridiculous. A man of genius and virtue is but a man. All his powers cannot be equally developed, nor can we expect from him perfect self-knowledge. We need not, therefore, hesitate to admit that Addison has left us some compositions which do not rise above mediocrity, some heroic poems hardly equal to Parnell's,³ some criticism as superficial as Dr. Blair's,⁴ and a tragedy not very much better than Dr. Johnson's.⁵

¹ Hampton Court, built by Cardinal Wolsey, and the favorite residence of many of the English sovereigns.

² The most ancient of the cathedrals of England, and the mausoleum of many of her illustrious dead.

³ Thomas Parnell (1679-1717), one of the minor poets of Queen Anne's reign; best known by his poem, the *Hermit*.

⁴ Dr. Hugh Blair (1718-1800), born at Edinburgh, a distinguished preacher, and writer on rhetoric and belles-lettres.

⁵ Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-84), a celebrated scholar, writer, and lexicographer. The comparison here made is between Addison's *Cato* and Dr. Johnson's *Irene*.

It is praise enough to say of a writer, that, in a high department of literature in which many eminent writers have distinguished themselves, he has had no equal; and this may with strict justice be said of Addison.

As a man he may not have deserved the adoration which he received from those who, bewitched by his fascinating society, and indebted for all the comforts of life to his generous and delicate friendship, worshiped him nightly in his favorite temple at Button's.¹ But, after full inquiry and impartial reflection, we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race. Some blemishes may undoubtedly be detected in his character; but the more carefully it is examined, the more will it appear, to use the phrase of the old anatomists, sound in the noble parts, free from all taint of perfidy, of cowardice, of cruelty, of ingratitude, of envy. Men may easily be named in whom some particular good disposition has been more conspicuous than in Addison. But the just harmony of qualities, the exact temper between the stern and the humane virtues, the habitual observance of every law, not only of moral rectitude, but of moral grace and dignity, distinguish him from all men who have been tried by equally strong temptations, and about whose conduct we possess equally full information.

His father was the Rev. Lancelot Addison, who, though eclipsed by his more celebrated son, made some figure in the world, and occupies with credit two folio pages in the "*Biographia Britannica*." Lancelot was sent up, as a poor scholar, from Westmoreland to Queen's College,² Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth,³ made some progress in learning, became,

¹ A noted coffeehouse in London in Queen Anne's time, the resort of Addison and his friends (see Introduction).

² A college founded in 1340, and so named from Philippa, queen of Edward III.

³ The government established by Cromwell and his associates, continuing from the execution of Charles I. in 1649, till the Restoration in 1660.

like most of his fellow students, a violent Royalist, lampooned the heads of the university, and was forced to ask pardon on his bended knees. When he had left college, he earned a humble subsistence by reading the liturgy of the fallen church to the families of those sturdy squires whose manor houses were scattered over the Wild¹ of Sussex. After the Restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the post of chaplain to the garrison of Dunkirk.² When Dunkirk was sold to France, he lost his employment. But Tangier³ had been ceded by Portugal to England as a part of the marriage portion of the Infanta⁴ Catharine; and to Tangier, Lancelot Addison was sent. A more miserable situation can hardly be conceived. It was difficult to say whether the unfortunate settlers were more tormented by the heats, or by the rains; by the soldiers within the wall, or by the Moors without it. One advantage the chaplain had. He enjoyed an excellent opportunity of studying the history and manners of Jews and Mohammedans; and of this opportunity he appears to have made excellent use. On his return to England, after some years of banishment, he published an interesting volume on the "Polity and Religion of Barbary," and another on the "Hebrew Customs and the State of Rabbinical Learning."⁵ He rose to eminence in his profession, and became one of the royal chaplains, a doctor of divinity, Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Dean of Lichfield. It is said that he would have been made a bishop after the Revolution, if he had not given offense to the government by strenuously opposing, in the Convention of 1689, the liberal policy of William and Tillotson.⁶

¹ Originally a forest or uncultivated tract of land.

² A seaport of France, on the Straits of Dover, taken by Oliver Cromwell in 1658, but sold to Louis XIV. by Charles II.

³ A seaport of Morocco, on a small bay in the Straits of Gibraltar. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1471.

⁴ A title given to princesses of the blood royal of Spain and Portugal, except the eldest. ⁵ Learning in the later periods of the literary history of the Jews.

⁶ John Robert Tillotson (1630-94), one of the great prelates and theologians of the English Church, made Archbishop of Canterbury by William III.

In 1672, not long after Dr. Addison's return from Tangier, his son Joseph was born. Of Joseph's childhood we know little. He learned his rudiments at schools in his father's neighborhood, and was then sent to the Charter House.¹ The anecdotes which are popularly related about his boyish tricks do not harmonize very well with what we know of his riper years. There remains a tradition that he was the ringleader in a barring-out,² and another tradition that he ran away from school, and hid himself in a wood, where he fed on berries, and slept in a hollow tree, till, after a long search, he was discovered and brought home. If these stories be true, it would be curious to know by what moral discipline so mutinous and enterprising a lad was transformed into the gentlest and most modest of men.

We have abundant proof, that, whatever Joseph's pranks may have been, he pursued his studies vigorously and successfully. At fifteen he was not only fit for the university, but carried thither a classical taste and a stock of learning which would have done honor to a master of arts. He was entered at Queen's College, Oxford; but he had not been many months there when some of his Latin verses fell by accident into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, Dean of Magdalen College. The young scholar's diction and versification were already such as veteran professors might envy. Dr. Lancaster was desirous to serve a boy of such promise; nor was an opportunity long wanting. The Revolution³ had just taken place, and nowhere had it been hailed with more delight than at Magdalen College. That great and opulent corporation had been treated by James, and by his chancellor,⁴ with an insolence and injustice, which, even

¹ A famous school for boys, in London, founded in 1611, and removed since 1872 to the village of Godalming, in Surrey.

² An old school custom of barring the master out of the schoolroom in order to dictate terms to him.

³ The Revolution of 1688, which seated William and Mary on the English throne.

⁴ Chief Justice Jeffreys, to whom an infamous notoriety has attached from his insolence, brutality, and cruelty.

in such a prince and in such a minister, may justly excite amazement, and which had done more than even the prosecution of the bishops¹ to alienate the Church of England from the throne. A president, duly elected, had been violently expelled from his dwelling; a Papist had been set over the society by a royal mandate; the fellows who, in conformity with their oaths, had refused to submit to this usurper, had been driven forth from their quiet cloisters and gardens, to die of want, or to live on charity. But the day of redress and retribution speedily came. The intruders were ejected; the venerable house was again inhabited by its old inmates; learning flourished under the rule of the wise and virtuous Hough;² and with learning was united a mild and liberal spirit too often wanting in the princely colleges of Oxford. In consequence of the troubles through which the society had passed, there had been no valid election of new members during the year 1688. In 1689, therefore, there was twice the ordinary number of vacancies; and thus Dr. Lancaster found it easy to procure for his young friend admittance to the advantages of a foundation then generally esteemed the wealthiest in Europe.

At Magdalen, Addison resided during ten years. He was at first one of those scholars who are called "Demies," but was subsequently elected a fellow. His college is still proud of his name; his portrait still hangs in the hall; and strangers are still told that his favorite walk was under the elms which fringe the meadow on the banks of the Cherwell. It is said, and is highly probable, that he was distinguished among his fellow students by the delicacy of his feelings, by the shyness of his manners, and by the assiduity with which he often prolonged his studies far into the night. It is certain that his reputation for ability and learning stood high. Many years later the ancient doctors of

¹ The prosecution of the primate and six of the bishops of the English Church, by James II., in 1687, for refusing to read his declaration of indulgence in the churches. They were triumphantly acquitted.

² Dr. John Hough (1651-1743), president of Magdalen College during Addison's stay there.

Magdalen continued to talk in their common room of his boyish compositions, and expressed their sorrow that no copy of exercises so remarkable had been preserved.

It is proper, however, to remark that Miss Aikin has committed the error, very pardonable in a lady, of overrating Addison's classical attainments. In one department of learning, indeed, his proficiency was such as it is hardly possible to overrate. His knowledge of the Latin poets, from Lucretius¹ and Catullus,² down to Claudian³ and Prudentius,⁴ was singularly exact and profound. He understood them thoroughly, entered into their spirit, and had the finest and most discriminating perception of all their peculiarities of style and melody; nay, he copied their manner with admirable skill, and surpassed, we think, all their British imitators who had preceded him, Buchanan⁵ and Milton⁶ alone excepted. This is high praise; and beyond this we cannot with justice go. It is clear that Addison's serious attention during his residence at the university was almost entirely concentrated on Latin poetry, and that, if he did not wholly neglect other provinces of ancient literature, he vouchsafed to them only a cursory glance. He does not appear to have attained more than an ordinary acquaintance with the political and moral writers of Rome; nor was his own Latin prose by any means equal to his Latin verse. His knowledge of Greek, though doubtless such as was, in his time, thought respectable at Oxford, was evidently less than that which many lads now carry away every

¹ One of the greatest of the Roman poets (95-55 B.C.).

² A Roman lyric poet (86-46 B.C.), justly admired for the exquisite grace and beauty of his compositions.

³ A Latin poet, who was born at Alexandria, and flourished in the fourth century A.D.

⁴ A Roman Christian poet, born in Spain about A.D. 348.

⁵ George Buchanan (1506-82), an eminent Scottish divine and historian, at one time tutor to Mary Queen of Scots and to her son, afterwards James I. of England. His *History of Scotland*, written in Latin, is remarkable for the vigor and beauty of its style.

⁶ John Milton (1608-74), author of *Paradise Lost*.

year from Eton and Rugby.¹ A minute examination of his works, if we had time to make such an examination, would fully bear out these remarks. We will briefly advert to a few of the facts on which our judgment is grounded.

Great praise is due to the notes which Addison appended to his version of the second and third books of the "*Metamorphoses*."² Yet those notes, while they show him to have been, in his own domain, an accomplished scholar, show also how confined that domain was. They are rich in apposite references to Virgil,³ Statius,⁴ and Claudian; but they contain not a single illustration drawn from the Greek poets. Now if, in the whole compass of Latin literature, there be a passage which stands in need of illustration drawn from the Greek poets, it is the story of Pentheus in the third book of the "*Metamorphoses*." Ovid was indebted for that story to Euripides⁵ and Theocritus,⁶ both of whom he has sometimes followed minutely. But neither to Euripides nor to Theocritus does Addison make the faintest allusion; and we therefore believe that we do not wrong him by supposing that he had little or no knowledge of their works.

His travels in Italy, again, abound with classical quotations happily introduced; but scarcely one of those quotations is in prose. He draws more illustrations from Ausonius and Manilius⁷ than from Cicero.⁸ Even his notions of the political and military affairs of the Romans seem to be derived from poets and poet-

¹ Eton and Rugby, two famous English schools.

² Poems written by Ovid (43 B.C.—A.D. 18), a celebrated Roman poet of the Augustan age.

³ The great Roman epic poet (70–19 B.C.), author of the *Æneid* and of the pastoral *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

⁴ A Roman poet (A.D. 61–96), author of the *Thebais*.

⁵ One of the three great Greek tragic writers, born about 481 B.C.

⁶ The greatest of the Greek pastoral and idyllic poets. He was born in Syracuse, Sicily, early in the third century B.C.

⁷ Inferior Latin poets, the former of the fourth century, the latter of the first.

⁸ Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.), the greatest of Roman orators.

asters. Spots made memorable by events which have changed the destinies of the world, and which have been worthily recorded by great historians, bring to his mind only scraps of some ancient versifier. In the gorge of the Apennines he naturally remembers the hardships which Hannibal's¹ army endured, and proceeds to cite, not the authentic narrative of Polybius,² not the picturesque narrative of Livy,³ but the languid hexameters of Silius Italicus.⁴ On the banks of the Rubicon⁵ he never thinks of Plutarch's lively description, or of the stern conciseness of the Commentaries,⁶ or of those Letters to Atticus⁷ which so forcibly express the alternations of hope and fear in a sensitive mind at a great crisis. His only authority for the events of the civil war is Lucan.⁸

All the best ancient works of art at Rome and Florence are Greek. Addison saw them, however, without recalling one single verse of Pindar,⁹ of Callimachus,¹⁰ or of the Attic dramatists;

¹ The great Carthaginian general (247-183 B.C.), who crossed the Alps, invaded Italy, and defeated the Romans in several engagements. He was finally recalled to Africa to resist the advance of Scipio, who defeated him in the battle of Zama.

² A Greek historian, born about 204 B.C. He wrote a general history of the affairs of Greece and Rome, in forty books, of which only five are extant.

³ An illustrious Roman historian (59 B.C.-A.D. 18), who wrote the Annals of Rome from the foundation to 9 B.C. Only thirty-five of its one hundred and forty-two books have survived.

⁴ A minor Latin poet (A.D. 25-101).

⁵ A small river in Italy, which formed the southern boundary of the province of Gaul. By crossing it with his army, Cæsar virtually declared war against the Republic.

⁶ Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War.

⁷ The Letters to Atticus, a noble Roman, were addressed to him by his friend Cicero.

⁸ A celebrated Roman poet, born in Spain, A.D. 37. His great work is *Pharsalia*, a poem on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey.

⁹ The greatest of the Greek lyric poets, born about 522 B.C.

¹⁰ A Greek poet in the third century B.C., author of an epic poem, *Argonautica*.

but they brought to his recollection innumerable passages of Horace,¹ Juvenal,² Statius, and Ovid.

The same may be said of the treatise on medals. In that pleasing work we find about three hundred passages extracted with great judgment from the Roman poets; but we do not recollect a single passage taken from any Roman orator or historian, and we are confident that not a line is quoted from any Greek writer. No person who had derived all his information on the subject of medals from Addison would suspect that the Greek coins were in historical interest equal, and in beauty of execution far superior, to those of Rome.

If it were necessary to find any further proof that Addison's classical knowledge was confined within narrow limits, that proof would be furnished by his "Essay on the Evidences of Christianity." The Roman poets throw little or no light on the literary and historical questions which he is under the necessity of examining in that essay. He is, therefore, left completely in the dark; and it is melancholy to see how helplessly he gropes his way from blunder to blunder. He assigns as grounds for his religious belief stories as absurd as that of the Cock Lane ghost,³ and forgeries as rank as Ireland's Vortigern;⁴ puts faith in the lie about the Thundering Legion;⁵ is convinced that Tiberius⁶ moved the

¹ One of the poets of the Augustan age in Rome, whose odes, epistles, and satires show the Latin tongue in its perfection.

² A Roman poet and satirist in the first century A.D., unrivaled as a castigat^r of vice.

³ The name given to the supposed cause of strange phenomena which took place about the bed of a young girl, in 1762, in Cock Lane, London. It was found to be an imposture, and the principals were punished.

⁴ W. H. Ireland (1777-1835) forged an autograph of Shakespeare, a deed purporting to be in the poet's handwriting, and finally a play, Vortigern, which Sheridan brought out at Drury Lane. The imposture was exposed by Malone, and Ireland made a full confession.

⁵ A name given to a Roman legion, A.D. 179; the prayers of some Christians in it having been followed, it is said, by a thunderstorm which quenched their thirst, and discomfited the enemy.

⁶ Tiberius (42 B.C.-A.D. 37), second Emperor of Rome.

senate to admit Jesus among the gods; and pronounces the letter of Agbarus, King of Edessa, to be a record of great authority.¹ Nor were these errors the effects of superstition, for to superstition Addison was by no means prone. The truth is, that he was writing about what he did not understand.

Miss Aikin has discovered a letter, from which it appears, that, while Addison resided at Oxford, he was one of several writers whom the booksellers engaged to make an English version of Herodotus;² and she infers that he must have been a good Greek scholar. We can allow very little weight to this argument, when we consider that his fellow laborers were to have been Boyle and Blackmore.³ Boyle is remembered chiefly as the nominal author of the worst book on Greek history and philology that ever was printed; and this book, bad as it is, Boyle was unable to produce without help. Of Blackmore's attainments in the ancient tongues, it may be sufficient to say, that in his prose he has confounded an aphorism with an apothegm, and that when, in his verse, he treats of classical subjects, his habit is to regale his readers with four false quantities to a page.

It is probable that the classical acquirements of Addison were of as much service to him as if they had been more extensive. The world generally gives its admiration, not to the man who does what nobody else even attempts to do, but to the man who does best what multitudes do well. Bentley⁴ was so immeasurably superior to all the other scholars of his time, that few among them could discover his superiority. But the accomplishment in which Addison excelled his contemporaries was then, as it is now,

¹ Agbarus, according to a tradition of the Church, wrote a letter to Jesus, and received one in reply.

² Born 434 B.C., and called the "Father of History." He visited most of the then known portions of the globe, and wrote an account of them.

³ Robert Boyle (1626-91) and Sir Richard Blackmore (1650-1729) were both distinguished writers.

⁴ Richard Bentley (1662-1742), an English divine distinguished for his classical learning. He had a controversy with Charles Boyle (1676-1731) as to the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, which he pronounced spurious.

highly valued and assiduously cultivated at all English seats of learning. Everybody who had been at a public school had written Latin verses: many had written such verses with tolerable success, and were quite able to appreciate, though by no means able to rival, the skill with which Addison imitated Virgil. His lines on the "Barometer" and the "Bowling Green" were applauded by hundreds to whom the "Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris" was as unintelligible as the hieroglyphics on an obelisk.

Purity of style, and an easy flow of numbers, are common to all Addison's Latin poems. Our favorite piece is the "Battle of the Cranes and Pygmies," for in that piece we discern a gleam of the fancy and humor which many years later enlivened thousands of breakfast tables. Swift¹ boasted that he was never known to steal a hint; and he certainly owed as little to his predecessors as any modern writer. Yet we cannot help suspecting that he borrowed, perhaps unconsciously, one of the happiest touches in his "Voyage to Lilliput" from Addison's verses. Let our readers judge.

"The Emperor," says Gulliver, "is taller by about the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders."

About thirty years before "Gulliver's Travels" appeared, Addison wrote these lines:—

"Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam."²

The Latin poems of Addison were greatly and justly admired both at Oxford and Cambridge, before his name had ever been

¹ Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), author of *Gulliver's Travels*, *Tale of a Tub*, *Battle of the Books*, etc.

² "And now the tall leader of the Pygmies presents himself within the lines of battle, who, terrible in his majesty and heavy in his gait, overtops all the rest with his huge mass, and rises to the middle of the arm."

heard by the wits who thronged the coffeehouses round Drury Lane Theater. In his twenty-second year he ventured to appear before the public as a writer of English verse. He addressed some complimentary lines to Dryden,¹ who, after many triumphs and many reverses, had at length reached a secure and lonely eminence among the literary men of that age. Dryden appears to have been much gratified by the young scholar's praise; and an interchange of civilities and good offices followed. Addison was probably introduced by Dryden to Congreve, and was certainly presented by Congreve to Charles Montague,² who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons.

At this time, Addison seemed inclined to devote himself to poetry. He published a translation of part of the fourth "Georgic,"³ "Lines to King William," and other performances of equal value; that is to say, of no value at all. But in those days the public was in the habit of receiving with applause pieces which would now have little chance of obtaining the Newdigate prize or the Seatonian prize.⁴ And the reason is obvious. The heroic couplet was then the favorite measure. The art of arranging words in that measure, so that the lines may flow smoothly, that the accents may fall correctly, that the rhymes may strike the ear strongly, and that there may be a pause at the end of every distich, is an art as mechanical as that of mending a kettle, or shoeing a horse, and may be learned by any human being who has sense enough to learn anything. But, like other mechanical arts, it was gradually improved by means of many experiments

¹ John Dryden (1631-1700), a famous English poet, author of a translation of Virgil's *Æneid* and a number of plays and poems.

² Lord Halifax (1661-1715), a distinguished wit, statesman, and financier, who, when chancellor of the exchequer under William III., directed the recoinage of all the current money of the nation. He was a lifelong friend of Addison.

³ Of Virgil.

⁴ The Newdigate prize and the Seatonian prize were scholarships; the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge.

and many failures. It was reserved for Pope¹ to discover the trick, to make himself complete master of it, and to teach it to everybody else. From the time when his "Pastorals" appeared, heroic versification became matter of rule and compass; and before long all artists were on a level. Hundreds of dunces who never blundered on one happy thought or expression were able to write reams of couplets, which, as far as euphony was concerned, could not be distinguished from those of Pope himself, and which very clever writers of the reign of Charles II.—Rochester,² for example, or Marvell,³ or Oldham⁴—would have contemplated with admiring despair.

Ben Jonson⁵ was a great man, Hoole⁶ a very small man. But Hoole, coming after Pope, had learned how to manufacture decasyllable verses, and poured them forth by thousands and tens of thousands, all as well turned, as smooth, and as like each other as the blocks which have passed through Mr. Brunel's⁷ mill in the dockyard at Portsmouth. Ben's heroic couplets resemble blocks rudely hewn out by an unpracticed hand with a blunt hatchet. Take as a specimen his translation of a celebrated passage in the "*Æneid*:"—

¹ Alexander Pope (1688–1744), author of the *Rape of the Lock*, an *Essay on Man*, and the *Dunciad*. He also translated Homer's *Iliad*.

² John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647–80), a wit, poet, and profligate associate of Charles II.

³ Andrew Marvell (1620–78), a poet and political writer during the Commonwealth, and a friend of Milton.

⁴ John Oldham (1653–83) wrote in imitation of Horace and Juvenal, in a style of coarse but vigorous invective.

⁵ Ben Jonson (1574–1637), a dramatist and a contemporary and friend of Shakespeare.

⁶ John Hoole (1727–1803) wrote translations of the Italian poets, Tasso and Ariosto, and several poor plays.

⁷ Mark Isambard Brunel (1769–1849), a French civil engineer, who submitted to the government a plan for making block pulleys for ships, which was carried into execution in the dockyard at Portsmouth, and proved a great success. He also constructed the Thames tunnel.

“This child our parent earth, stirr’d up with spite
 Of all the gods, brought forth, and, as some write,
 She was last sister of that giant race
 That sought to scale Jove’s court, right swift of pace,
 And swifter far of wing, a monster vast
 And dreadful. Look, how many plumes are placed
 On her huge corpse, so many waking eyes
 Stick underneath, and, which may stranger rise
 In the report, as many tongues she wears.”

Compare with these jagged, misshapen distichs the neat fabric which Hoole’s machine produces in unlimited abundance. We take the first lines on which we open in his version of Tasso¹ They are neither better nor worse than the rest:—

“O thou, whoe’er thou art, whose steps are led,
 By choice or fate, these lonely shores to tread,
 No greater wonders east or west can boast
 Than yon small island on the pleasing coast.
 If e’er thy sight would blissful scenes explore,
 The current pass, and seek the further shore.”

2

Ever since the time of Pope there has been a glut of lines of this sort; and we are now as little disposed to admire a man for being able to write them as for being able to write his name. But in the days of William III. such versification was rare; and a rhymers who had any skill in it passed for a great poet, just as, in the dark ages, a person who could write his name passed for a great clerk. Accordingly, Duke, Stepney, Granville, Walsh, and others whose only title to fame was that they said in tolerable meter what might have been as well said in prose, or what was not worth saying at all, were honored with marks of distinction which ought to be reserved for genius. With these Addison must have ranked, if he had not earned true and lasting glory by performances which very little resembled his juvenile poems.

¹ Torquato Tasso (1544-95), one of the greatest of modern Italian poets, author of *Jerusalem Delivered*, an epic poem in twenty-four books.

Dryden was now busied with Virgil, and obtained from Addison a critical preface to the "Georgics." In return for this service, and for other services of the same kind, the veteran poet, in the postscript to the translation of the "Æneid," complimented his young friend with great liberality, and indeed with more liberality than sincerity. He affected to be afraid that his own performance would not sustain a comparison with the version of the fourth "Georgic," by "the most ingenious Mr. Addison of Oxford." "After his bees," added Dryden, "my latter swarm is scarcely worth the hiving."¹

The time had now arrived when it was necessary for Addison to choose a calling. Everything seemed to point his course towards the clerical profession. His habits were regular, his opinions orthodox. His college had large ecclesiastical preferment in its gift, and boasts that it has given at least one bishop to almost every see in England. Dr. Lancelot Addison held an honorable place in the Church, and had set his heart on seeing his son a clergyman. It is clear, from some expressions in the young man's rhymes, that his intention was to take orders. But Charles Montague interfered. Montague had first brought himself into notice by verses, well timed and not contemptibly written, but never, we think, rising above mediocrity. Fortunately for himself and for his country, he early quitted poetry, in which he could never have attained a rank as high as that of Dorset² or Rochester, and turned his mind to official and parliamentary business. It is written that the ingenious person who undertook to instruct Rasselas,³ prince of Abyssinia, in the art of flying, ascended an eminence, waved his wings, sprang into the air, and instantly dropped into the lake. But it is added that the wings which were unable to support him through the sky, bore him up

¹ In his fourth Georgic, Virgil describes the habits of bees.

² Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1637-1706), a favorite courtier of Charles II., a generous patron of men of letters, and himself author of some verses now almost forgotten.

³ Rasselas is the title of an Eastern tale written by Dr. Samuel Johnson.

effectually as soon as he was in the water. This is no bad type of the fate of Charles Montague, and of men like him. When he attempted to soar into the regions of poetical invention, he altogether failed; but, as soon as he had descended from that ethereal elevation into a lower and grosser element, his talents instantly raised him above the mass. He became a distinguished financier, debater, courtier, and party leader. He still retained his fondness for the pursuits of his early days; but he showed that fondness, not by wearying the public with his own feeble performances, but by discovering and encouraging literary excellence in others. A crowd of wits and poets, who would easily have vanquished him as a competitor, revered him as a judge and a patron. In his plans for the encouragement of learning, he was cordially supported by the ablest and most virtuous of his colleagues, the Lord Chancellor Somers.¹ Though both these great statesmen had a sincere love of letters, it was not solely from a love of letters that they were desirous to enlist youths of high intellectual qualifications in the public service. The Revolution had altered the whole system of government. Before that event, the press had been controlled by censors, and the Parliament had sat only two months in eight years. Now the press was free, and had begun to exercise unprecedented influence on the public mind. Parliament met annually, and sat long. The chief power in the State had passed to the House of Commons. At such a conjuncture it was natural that literary and oratorical talents should rise in value. There was danger that a government which neglected such talents might be subverted by them. It was, therefore, a profound and enlightened policy which led Montague and Somers to attach such talents to the Whig² party by the strongest ties both of interest and of gratitude.

¹ John, Lord Somers (1652-1716), was made by William III. successively attorney-general, lord keeper of the Great Seal, and lord high chancellor. He was president of the Royal Society and a great patron of learning.

² A name applied first in 1679 to that one of the two great parties in England which advocated liberal principles in politics, as opposed to the Tories.

It is remarkable that in a neighboring country we have recently seen similar effects follow from similar causes. The Revolution of July, 1830, established representative government in France. The men of letters instantly rose to the highest importance in the State. At the present moment, most of the persons whom we see at the head both of the Administration and of the Opposition have been professors, historians, journalists, poets. The influence of the literary class in England during the generation which followed the Revolution was great, but by no means so great as it has lately been in France; for in England the aristocracy of intellect had to contend with a powerful and deeply rooted aristocracy of a very different kind. France had no Somersets¹ and Shrewsburies² to keep down her Addisons and Priors.

It was in the year 1699, when Addison had just completed his twenty-seventh year, that the course of his life was finally determined. Both the great chiefs of the ministry were kindly disposed towards him. In political opinions he already was, what he continued to be through life, a firm though a moderate Whig. He had addressed the most polished and vigorous of his early English lines to Somers, and had dedicated to Montague a Latin poem, truly Virgilian both in style and rhythm, on the peace of Ryswick.³ The wish of the young poet's great friends was, it should seem, to employ him in the service of the Crown abroad. But an intimate knowledge of the French language was a qualification indispensable to a diplomatist; and this qualification Addison had not acquired. It was therefore thought desirable that he should pass some time on the Continent in preparing

¹ Charles Seymour (1661-1748), known as "the proud Duke of Somerset," who filled several high positions in the reigns of Charles II., William III., and Queen Anne.

² Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (1684-1737), a lawyer and statesman of high character, a solicitor-general, and lord high chancellor of England.

³ The peace of Ryswick was a treaty concluded in 1697 in Ryswick, a town of Holland, which put an end to the bloody contest in which England and France had been engaged.

himself for official employment. His own means were not such as would enable him to travel; but a pension of three hundred pounds a year was procured for him by the interest of the lord chancellor. It seems to have been apprehended that some difficulty might be started by the rulers of Magdalen College; but the chancellor of the exchequer¹ wrote in the strongest terms to Hough. The State—such was the purport of Montague's letter—could not at that time spare to the Church such a man as Addison. Too many high civil posts were already occupied by adventurers, who, destitute of every liberal art and sentiment, at once pillaged and disgraced the country which they pretended to serve. It had become necessary to recruit for the public service from a very different class,—from that class of which Addison was the representative. The close of the minister's letter was remarkable. "I am called," he said, "an enemy of the Church; but I will never do it any other injury than keeping Mr. Addison out of it."

This interference was successful; and in the summer of 1699 Addison, made a rich man by his pension, and still retaining his fellowship, quitted his beloved Oxford, and set out on his travels. He crossed from Dover to Calais, proceeded to Paris, and was received there with great kindness and politeness by a kinsman of his friend Montague, Charles, Earl of Manchester, who had just been appointed ambassador to the court of France. The countess, a Whig and a toast,² was probably as gracious as her lord; for Addison long retained an agreeable recollection of the impression which she at this time made on him, and, in some lively lines written on the glasses of the Kit Cat Club,³ described

¹ The chancellor of the exchequer in England is the member of the cabinet of ministers having charge of the finances. The lord high chancellor is the presiding judge of the Court of Chancery, and chief adviser of the Crown in matters of law and conscience.

² A toast was some reigning beauty whose health was drunk in a company of gentlemen. In the Kit Cat Club the name, with some appropriate verse, was often inscribed on the glasses.

³ The Kit Cat Club was a famous association formed about 1700, and so

the envy which her cheeks, glowing with the genuine bloom of England, had excited among the painted beauties of Versailles.

Louis XIV.¹ was at this time expiating the vices of his youth by a devotion which had no root in reason, and bore no fruit of charity. The servile literature of France had changed its character to suit the changed character of the prince. No book appeared that had not an air of sanctity. Racine,² who was just dead, had passed the close of his life in writing sacred dramas; and Dacier³ was seeking for the Athanasian⁴ mysteries in Plato.⁵ Addison described this state of things in a short but lively and graceful letter to Montague. Another letter, written about the same time to the lord chancellor, conveyed the strongest assurances of gratitude and attachment. "The only return I can make to your lordship," said Addison, "will be to apply myself entirely to my business." With this view he quitted Paris, and repaired to Blois, a place where it was supposed that the French language was spoken in its highest purity, and where not a single Englishman could be found. Here he passed some months pleasantly and profitably. Of his way of life at Blois, one of his associates, an abbé named Philippeaux, gave an account to Joseph Spence.⁶ If this account is to be trusted, Addison studied much, mused much, talked little, had fits of absence, and

called from Christopher Cat, a pastry cook who made their mutton pies. It was composed originally of about forty noblemen and gentlemen, all Whigs.

¹ King of France (b. 1638; d. 1715).

² Jean Racine (1639–99), author of tragedies, mostly upon classical themes, which still keep possession of the French stage.

³ André Dacier (1651–1722), a French philologist.

⁴ Athanasius, one of the most distinguished of the Greek fathers, born in Alexandria about A.D. 296. He was author of the famous Athanasian Creed, still in use in the Church.

⁵ A great Greek philosopher (429–347 B.C.), pupil of Socrates, whose system of ethics and philosophy he has preserved in his Dialogues.

⁶ A fellow of Oxford, and for a time professor of poetry in the university (b. 1699; d. 1768). He left interesting records of conversations with Pope and other eminent men of the time.

either had no love affairs or was too discreet to confide them to the abbé. A man who, even when surrounded by fellow countrymen and fellow students, had always been remarkably shy and silent, was not likely to be loquacious in a foreign tongue and among foreign companions. But it is clear from Addison's letters, some of which were long after published in the "Guardian,"¹ that, while he appeared to be absorbed in his own meditations, he was really observing French society with that keen and sly, yet not ill-natured side glance which was peculiarly his own.

From Blois he returned to Paris, and, having now mastered the French language, found great pleasure in the society of French philosophers and poets. He gave an account, in a letter to Bishop Hough, of two highly interesting conversations, one with Malebranche,² the other with Boileau.³ Malebranche expressed great partiality for the English, and extolled the genius of Newton,⁴ but shook his head when Hobbes⁵ was mentioned, and was indeed so unjust as to call the author of the "Leviathan" a poor silly creature. Addison's modesty restrained him from fully relating, in his letter, the circumstances of his introduction to Boileau. Boileau having survived the friends and rivals of his youth—old, deaf, and melancholy—lived in retirement, seldom went either to court or to the Academy,⁶ and was almost inaccessible to strangers. Of the English and of English literature he knew nothing. He had hardly heard the name of Dryden. Some of our countrymen, in the warmth of their patriotism, have asserted

¹ One of the three serial papers conducted by Steele, to which Addison contributed.

² Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), a celebrated French philosopher.

³ A famous French poet and satirist (1636–1711).

⁴ Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), the greatest of English mathematicians and astronomers, renowned for his discovery of the law of gravitation, his invention of the method of the calculus, and his investigations in the science of optics.

⁵ Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), an English philosopher, distinguished in his day, but now almost forgotten. His principal work was the *Leviathan*.

⁶ The French Academy was instituted in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu.

that this ignorance must have been affected. We own that we see no ground for such a supposition. English literature was to the French of the age of Louis XIV. what German literature was to our own grandfathers. Very few, we suspect, of the accomplished men who, sixty or seventy years ago, used to dine in Leicester Square with Sir Joshua,¹ or at Streatham with Mrs. Thrale,² had the slightest notion that Wieland³ was one of the first wits and poets, and Lessing,⁴ beyond all dispute, the first critic in Europe. Boileau knew just as little about the "Paradise Lost," and about "Absalom and Achitophel;"⁵ but he had read Addison's Latin poems, and admired them greatly. They had given him, he said, quite a new notion of the state of learning and taste among the English. Johnson will have it that these praises were insincere. "Nothing," says he, "is better known of Boileau than that he had an injudicious and peevish contempt of modern Latin; and therefore his profession of regard was probably the effect of his civility rather than approbation." Now, nothing is better known of Boileau than that he was singularly sparing of compliments. We do not remember that either friendship or fear ever induced him to bestow praise on any composition which he did not approve. On literary questions his caustic, disdainful, and self-confident spirit rebelled against that authority to which everything else in France bowed down. He had the spirit to tell Louis XIV., firmly and even rudely, that his Majesty knew nothing about poetry, and ad-

¹ Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), the famous portrait painter, resided in Leicester Square, London.

² Afterwards Mrs. Piozzi, wife of a wealthy London brewer, who by her many social charms drew a brilliant circle of men of letters, artists, and others about her, at her home at Streatham. Dr. Johnson was for a long time a guest there.

³ A German poet and novelist (1733-1813), and author of numerous works.

⁴ A distinguished German critic, dramatist, and writer (1729-81), whose works are among the classics of German literature, and have done much to refine and polish its style.

⁵ A famous political satire by Dryden.

mired verses which were detestable. What was there in Addison's position that could induce the satirist whose stern and fastidious temper had been the dread of two generations to turn sycophant for the first and last time? Nor was Boileau's contempt of modern Latin either injudicious or peevish. He thought, indeed, that no poem of the first order would ever be written in a dead language. And did he think amiss? Has not the experience of centuries confirmed his opinion? Boileau also thought it probable that, in the best modern Latin, a writer of the Augustan age¹ would have detected ludicrous improprieties. And who can think otherwise? What modern scholar can honestly declare that he sees the smallest impurity in the style of Livy? Yet is it not certain that, in the style of Livy, Pollio,² whose taste had been formed on the banks of the Tiber, detected the inelegant idiom of the Po? Has any modern scholar understood Latin better than Frederick the Great³ understood French? Yet is it not notorious that Frederick the Great—after reading, speaking, writing French, and nothing but French, during more than half a century; after unlearning his mother tongue in order to learn French; after living familiarly during many years with French associates—could not, to the last, compose in French without imminent risk of committing some mistake which would have moved a smile in the literary circles of Paris? Do we believe that Erasmus⁴ and Fracastorius⁵ wrote Latin as well as Dr. Robertson⁶ and Sir Walter Scott⁷ wrote English? And are

¹ The age of the first Roman emperor, Augustus (63 B.C.—A.D. 14), in which the poets Horace, Virgil, Ovid, and others flourished.

² A Roman orator, poet, and historian, a friend of Virgil.

³ King of Prussia (b. 1712; d. 1786).

⁴ An eminent scholar (1467–1536), born at Rotterdam, who spent many years in France, Italy, and the Netherlands, in teaching and study.

⁵ A learned physician and poet, author of many medical and poetical works (b. 1483; d. 1553).

⁶ Dr. William Robertson (1721–93), a British historian, author, among other works, of a History of Charles V. and a History of America.

⁷ Author of Waverley Novels, Lady of the Lake, etc. (b. 1771; d. 1832).

there not in the "Dissertation on India," the last of Dr. Robertson's works, in "Waverley," in "Marmion," Scotticisms at which a London apprentice would laugh? But does it follow, because we think thus, that we can find nothing to admire in the noble *alcaics*¹ of Gray,² or in the playful elegiacs of Vincent Bourne?³ Surely not. Nor was Boileau so ignorant or tasteless as to be incapable of appreciating good modern Latin. In the very letter to which Johnson alludes, Boileau says, "*Ne croyez pas pourtant que je veuille par là blâmer les vers Latins que vous m'avez envoyés d'un de vos illustres académiciens. Je les ai trouvés fort beaux, et dignes de Vida et de Sannazar,⁴ mais non pas d'Horace et de Virgile.*"⁵ Several poems in modern Latin have been praised by Boileau quite as liberally as it was his habit to praise anything. He says, for example, of the *Père Fraguier's*⁶ epigrams, that Catullus seems to have come to life again. But the best proof that Boileau did not feel the undiscerning contempt for modern Latin verses which has been imputed to him, is, that he wrote and published Latin verses in several meters. Indeed it happens, curiously enough, that the most severe censure ever pronounced by him on modern Latin is conveyed in Latin hexameters. We allude to the fragment which begins:—

¹ One of the most beautiful and melodious of the ancient lyric meters; so called from *Alcæus*, a Greek poet (about 600 B.C.), who invented it.

² Thomas Gray (1716–71), an English poet and scholar. His *Elegy* written in a Country Churchyard, and other poems, give him high rank among English writers.

³ An accomplished English scholar (1695–1747), who wrote entirely in Latin verse.

⁴ Vida (b. 1566) and Sannazar (1468–1532) were both writers of Latin verses. The latter, an Italian poet of Spanish descent, is best known for his *Arcadia*, a medley of prose and verse.

⁵ "Do not think, however, that I mean by that to find fault with the Latin verses of one of your illustrious academicians which you have sent me. I have found them very beautiful, and worthy of Vida and of Sannazar, but not of Horace and of Virgil."

⁶ A French Jesuit (1666–1728), who wrote numerous Latin poems, etc.

“Quid numeris iterum me balbutire Latinis,
 Longe Alpes citra natum de patre Sicambro,
 Musa, jubes?”¹

For these reasons we feel assured that the praise which Boileau bestowed on the *Machinæ Gesticulantes*² and the *Gerano-Pygmæomachia*³ was sincere. He certainly opened himself to Addison with a freedom which was a sure indication of esteem. Literature was the chief subject of conversation. The old man talked on his favorite theme much and well, indeed, as his young hearer thought, incomparably well. Boileau had undoubtedly some of the qualities of a great critic. He wanted imagination; but he had strong sense. His literary code was formed on narrow principles; but in applying it he showed great judgment and penetration. In mere style, abstracted from the ideas of which style is the garb, his taste is excellent. He was well acquainted with the great Greek writers; and, though unable fully to appreciate their creative genius, admired the majestic simplicity of their manner, and had learned from them to despise bombast and tinsel. It is easy, we think, to discover in the “Spectator” and the “Guardian,” traces of the influence, in part salutary and in part pernicious, which the mind of Boileau had on the mind of Addison.

While Addison was at Paris, an event took place which made that capital a disagreeable residence for an Englishman and a Whig. Charles, second of the name, King of Spain, died, and bequeathed his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, a younger son of the Dauphin.⁴ The King of France, in direct violation of his engagements both with Great Britain and with the States

¹ “Why, Muse, do you order me, born far on this side of the Alps, of a Sicambrian father, again to lisp in Latin numbers?”

² Puppet shows.

³ The Battle of the Pygmies and the Cranes.

⁴ The Dauphin was the title borne by the heir apparent to the throne of France. It was originally held by the counts of Vienne, in the province of Dauphiné.

General,¹ accepted the bequest on behalf of his grandson. The house of Bourbon² was at the summit of human grandeur. England had been outwitted, and found herself in a situation at once degrading and perilous. The people of France, not presaging the calamities by which they were destined to expiate the perfidy of their sovereign, went mad with pride and delight. Every man looked as if a great estate had just been left him. "The French conversation," said Addison, "begins to grow insupportable; that which was before the vainest nation in the world is now worse than ever." Sick of the arrogant exultation of the Parisians, and probably foreseeing that the peace between France and England could not be of long duration, he set off for Italy.

In December, 1700, he embarked at Marseilles. As he glided along the Ligurian³ coast, he was delighted by the sight of myrtles and olive trees, which retained their verdure under the winter solstice. Soon, however, he encountered one of the black storms of the Mediterranean. The captain of the ship gave up all for lost, and confessed himself to a capuchin who happened to be on board. The English heretic, in the mean time, fortified himself against the terrors of death with devotions of a very different kind. How strong an impression this perilous voyage made on him appears from the ode, "How are thy servants blest, O Lord!" which was long after published in the "*Spectator*." After some days of discomfort and danger, Addison was glad to land at Savona,⁴ and to make his way, over mountains where no road had yet been hewn out by art, to the city of Genoa.

At Genoa, still ruled by her own doge and by the nobles

¹ States General was the title borne by the representatives of the provinces of the Netherlands, who met at the Hague from 1593 to 1795.

² An illustrious French family, which for centuries was the greatest dynastic power in Europe. Henry IV. (1553-1610) was the first Bourbon sovereign in France; and the line ceased to reign with the abdication of Louis Philippe in 1848.

³ The coast of the province of Genoa; so called from its ancient inhabitants, the *Ligures*.

⁴ A seaport town of Italy, about twenty miles from Genoa.

whose names were inscribed on her Book of Gold,¹ Addison made a short stay. He admired the narrow streets overhung by long lines of towering palaces, the walls rich with frescoes, the gorgeous temple of the Annunciation, and the tapestries whereon were recorded the long glories of the house of Doria.² Thence he hastened to Milan, where he contemplated the Gothic magnificence of the cathedral with more wonder than pleasure. He passed Lake Benacus³ while a gale was blowing, and saw the waves raging as they raged when Virgil looked upon them. At Venice, then the gayest city in Europe, the traveler spent the Carnival,⁴ the gayest season of the year, in the midst of masques, dances, and serenades. Here he was at once diverted and provoked by the absurd dramatic pieces which then disgraced the Italian stage. To one of those pieces, however, he was indebted for a valuable hint. He was present when a ridiculous play on the death of Cato was performed. Cato, it seems, was in love with the daughter of Scipio. The lady had given her heart to Cæsar. The rejected lover determined to destroy himself. He appeared seated in his library, a dagger in his hand, a Plutarch⁵ and a Tasso before him; and in this position he pronounced a soliloquy before he struck the blow. We are surprised that so remarkable a circumstance as this should have escaped the notice of all Addison's biographers. There cannot, we conceive, be the smallest doubt that this scene, in spite of its absurdities and

¹ The doge was the title of the chief magistrate in the old Italian republics of Venice and Genoa. The *Libro d'Oro* (the Book of Gold) was the book of the nobility in Venice and Genoa.

² An illustrious family of Genoa, the chief of whom were distinguished in the wars of the republic.

³ Now Lago di Garda, the largest of the Italian lakes, thirty-eight miles long, and twelve miles broad at its southern extremity. It is the source of the River Mincio.

⁴ The season of indulgence allowed by the Catholic Church before Lent sets in.

⁵ Plutarch's Parallel Lives of Eminent Greeks and Romans, written in the first century.

anachronisms, struck the traveler's imagination, and suggested to him the thought of bringing "Cato" on the English stage. It is well known that about this time he began his tragedy,¹ and that he finished the first four acts before he returned to England.

On his way from Venice to Rome, he was drawn some miles out of the beaten road by a wish to see the smallest independent state in Europe. On a rock where the snow still lay, though the Italian spring was now far advanced, was perched the little fortress of San Marino.² The roads which led to the secluded town were so bad, that few travelers had ever visited it, and none had ever published an account of it. Addison could not suppress a good-natured smile at the simple manners and institutions of this singular community; but he observed, with the exultation of a Whig, that the rude mountain tract which formed the territory of the republic swarmed with an honest, healthy, and contented peasantry, while the rich plain which surrounded the metropolis of civil and spiritual tyranny was scarcely less desolate than the uncleared wilds of America.

At Rome, Addison remained on his first visit only long enough to catch a glimpse of St. Peter's³ and of the Pantheon.⁴ His haste is the more extraordinary, because the Holy Week⁵ was close at hand. He has given no hint which can enable us to pronounce why he chose to fly from a spectacle which every year allures from distant regions persons of far less taste and sensibil-

¹ Of Cato (see Note 2, p. 88).

² This, the smallest and one of the most ancient states in Europe, is situated in Central Italy, on a plateau two thousand feet in height, with an area of only twenty-seven square miles. The government is a republic.

³ St. Peter's at Rome, the largest cathedral in Christendom, the foundation of which was laid in 1406. It is 613 feet long, 450 feet across the transepts, and 435 feet from the pavement to the top of the cross.*

⁴ One of the most magnificent temples of ancient Rome, and the only one of its splendid fanes that has come down to us uninjured. It was built by Agrippa, and dedicated to all the gods, as its name implies. It has been converted into a Christian church.

⁵ The last week in Lent.

ity than his. Possibly, traveling, as he did, at the charge of a government distinguished by its enmity to the Church of Rome, he may have thought that it would be imprudent in him to assist at the most magnificent rite of that Church. Many eyes would be upon him, and he might find it difficult to behave in such a manner as to give offense neither to his patrons in England nor to those among whom he resided. Whatever his motives may have been, he turned his back on the most august and affecting ceremony which is known among men, and posted along the Appian Way¹ to Naples.

36 Naples was then destitute of what are now, perhaps, its chief attractions. The lovely bay and the awful mountain were indeed there; but a farmhouse stood on the theater of Herculaneum, and rows of vines grew over the streets of Pompeii.² The temples of Pæstum³ had not, indeed, been hidden from the eye of man by any great convulsion of nature; but, strange to say, their existence was a secret even to artists and antiquaries. Though situated within a few hours' journey of a great capital, where Salvator⁴ had not long before painted, and where Vico⁵ was then lecturing, those noble remains were as little known to Europe as the ruined cities overgrown by the forests of Yucatan. What was to be seen at Naples, Addison saw. He climbed Vesuvius, explored the tunnel of Posilipo,⁶ and wandered among the vines

¹ The oldest and most celebrated of all the ancient Roman roads.

² Herculaneum and Pompeii, cities of ancient Italy, near Naples, were completely buried under showers of ashes by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A.D. 79. Herculaneum was discovered by an accident in 1713, and Pompeii in 1750. Many streets, temples, and precious works of art, have been exhumed from the two cities.

³ An ancient city of Italy, and a place of importance and great beauty in the time of the Romans.

⁴ Salvator Rosa (1615-73), a celebrated painter, who painted directly from nature, and delighted in scenes of gloomy grandeur and magnificence.

⁵ An Italian philosopher (1668-1744), author of a philosophy of history, which anticipated the speculations of many eminent writers of recent times.

⁶ A promontory in the Bay of Naples, through which a tunnel was constructed in ancient times, probably by Agrippa, 27 B.C.

and almond trees of Capreæ.¹ But neither the wonders of nature, nor those of art, could so occupy his attention as to prevent him from noticing, though cursorily, the abuses of the government and the misery of the people. The great kingdom which had just descended to Philip V. was in a state of paralytic dotage. Even Castile and Aragon² were sunk in wretchedness. Yet, compared with the Italian dependencies of the Spanish Crown, Castile and Aragon might be called prosperous. It is clear that all the observations which Addison made in Italy tended to confirm him in the political opinions which he had adopted at home. To the last he always spoke of foreign travel as the best cure for Jacobitism.³ In his "Freeholder,"⁴ the Tory⁵ fox hunter asks what traveling is good for, except to teach a man to jabber French and to talk against passive obedience.

From Naples, Addison returned to Rome by sea, along the coast which his favorite Virgil had celebrated. The felucca⁶ passed the headland where the oar and trumpet were placed by the Trojan adventurers⁷ on the tomb of Misenus, and anchored at night under the shelter of the fabled promontory of Circe.⁸ The voyage ended in the Tiber, still overhung with dark verdure,

¹ Modern Capri, a beautiful island in the Mediterranean, facing the city of Naples, the residence for a long time of the Roman Emperor Tiberius.

² The principal states of Spain.

³ The Jacobites (from Latin *Jacobus*, James) were the party which adhered to James II. after the Revolution of 1688, and sought to restore his family to the English throne.

⁴ A political and literary paper in the style of the Spectator, published for a short time by Addison in 1715.

⁵ The name originally given to that party in England adhering to the ancient constitution of the monarchy and to the apostolical hierarchy.

⁶ A vessel with oars and lateen sails, used in the Mediterranean.

⁷ The survivors of the siege of Troy, who were led by Æneas, the hero of Virgil's Æneid. Misenus was the trumpeter, and his tomb was said to be on the promontory of Misenum, now Capo di Miseno, on the Bay of Naples.

⁸ Monte Circeo, a rocky promontory on the seacoast near Terracina in Italy, at one time supposed to be an island, and the abode of Circe the sorceress.

and still turbid with yellow sand, as when it met the eyes of Æneas. From the ruined port of Ostia the stranger hurried to Rome, and at Rome he remained during those hot and sickly months, when, even in the Augustan age, all who could make their escape fled from mad dogs and from streets black with funerals, to gather the first figs of the season in the country. It is probable that when he, long after, poured forth in verse his gratitude to the Providence which had enabled him to breathe unhurt in tainted air, he was thinking of the August and September which he passed at Rome.

It was not till the latter end of October that he tore himself away from the masterpieces of ancient and modern art which are collected in the city so long the mistress of the world. He then journeyed northward, passed through Sienna,¹ and for a moment forgot his prejudices in favor of classic architecture as he looked on the magnificent cathedral. At Florence he spent some days with the Duke of Shrewsbury, who—cloyed with the pleasures of ambition, and impatient of its pains; fearing both parties, and loving neither—had determined to hide in an Italian retreat talents and accomplishments, which, if they had been united with fixed principles and civil courage, might have made him the foremost man of his age. These days, we are told, passed pleasantly, and we can easily believe it; for Addison was a delightful companion when he was at his ease; and the duke, though he seldom forgot that he was a Talbot, had the invaluable art of putting at ease all who came near him.

Addison gave some time to Florence, and especially to the sculptures in the Museum, which he preferred even to those of the Vatican.² He then pursued his journey through a country

¹ Situated on the road from Florence to Rome, and noted for its superb churches, palaces, and public monuments.

² The residence of the Pope in Rome, the largest structure of the kind in the world, comprising the private gardens and apartments of the Pope, reception halls, chapels, libraries, picture galleries, and vast museums of ancient sculptures and other antiquities.

in which the ravages of the last war were still discernible, and in which all men were looking forward with dread to a still fiercer conflict. Eugene¹ had already descended from the Rhætian Alps to dispute with Catinat² the rich plain of Lombardy. The faithless ruler of Savoy³ was still reckoned among the allies of Louis. England had not yet actually declared war against France; but Manchester⁴ had left Paris; and the negotiations which produced the Grand Alliance⁵ against the house of Bourbon were in progress. Under such circumstances, it was desirable for an English traveler to reach neutral ground without delay. Addison resolved to cross Mont Cenis.⁶ It was December; and the road was very different from that which now reminds the stranger of the power and genius of Napoleon. The winter, however, was mild; and the passage was, for those times, easy. To this journey Addison alluded, when, in the ode which we have already quoted, he said that for him the Divine Goodness had warmed the hoary Alpine hills.

It was in the midst of the eternal snow that he composed his "Epistle" to his friend Montague, now Lord Halifax. That "Epistle," once widely renowned, is now known only to curious readers, and will hardly be considered by those to whom it is known as in any perceptible degree heightening Addison's fame.

¹ Prince Eugene (1663-1736), a distinguished military chieftain who entered the service of the German Emperor as a volunteer against the Turks, was speedily promoted, and placed in command of the army of Hungary, was associated with the Duke of Marlborough, and took part in the victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, and others.

² A French marshal, who was commander of the army in Italy against Prince Eugene, but was forced to retreat, which caused his disgrace and his retirement.

³ Victor Amadeus II. (1665-1732), Duke of Savoy, and first King of Sardinia.

⁴ Charles Montague, fourth Earl of Manchester, espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange, William III., and was sent ambassador to France in 1699.

⁵ The Grand Alliance was formed between the Emperor of Germany, England, and the States of Holland, by a treaty signed Sept. 7, 1701.

⁶ A mountain pass in the Alps, 6,775 feet above the level of the sea.

It is, however, decidedly superior to any English composition which he had previously published. Nay, we think it quite as good as any poem in heroic meter which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the publication of the "Essay on Criticism."¹ It contains passages as good as the second-rate passages of Pope, and would have added to the reputation of Parnell or Prior.

But, whatever be the literary merits or defects of the "Epistle," it undoubtedly does honor to the principles and spirit of the author. Halifax had now nothing to give. He had fallen from power, had been held up to obloquy, had been impeached by the House of Commons, and, though his peers had dismissed the impeachment, had, as it seemed, little chance of ever again filling high office. The "Epistle," written at such a time, is one among many proofs that there was no mixture of cowardice or meanness in the suavity and moderation which distinguished Addison from all the other public men of those stormy times.

At Geneva the traveler learned that a partial change of ministry had taken place in England, and that the Earl of Manchester had become secretary of state. Manchester exerted himself to serve his young friend. It was thought advisable that an English agent should be near the person of Eugene in Italy; and Addison, whose diplomatic education was now finished, was the man selected. He was preparing to enter on his honorable functions when all his prospects were for a time darkened by the death of William III.

Anne had long felt a strong aversion—personal, political, and religious—to the Whig party. That aversion appeared in the first measures of her reign. Manchester was deprived of the seals after he had held them only a few weeks. Neither Somers nor Halifax was sworn of the Privy Council.² Addison shared the

¹ A poem written by Pope in 1709, in his twenty-first year.

² An assembly of state advisers unlimited as to number, and appointed by the sovereign; the sole qualification being, that the members be native-born subjects of Great Britain.

fate of his three patrons. His hopes of employment in the public service were at an end; his pension was stopped; and it was necessary for him to support himself by his own exertions. He became tutor to a young English traveler, and appears to have rambled with his pupil over great part of Switzerland and Germany. At this time he wrote his pleasing treatise on medals. It was not published till after his death; but several distinguished scholars saw the manuscript, and gave just praise to the grace of the style and to the learning and ingenuity evinced by the quotations.

From Germany, Addison repaired to Holland, where he learned the melancholy news of his father's death. After passing some months in the United Provinces,¹ he returned, about the close of the year 1703, to England. He was there cordially received by his friends, and introduced by them into the Kit Cat Club, a society in which were collected all the various talents and accomplishments which then gave luster to the Whig party.

Addison was, during some months after his return from the Continent, hard pressed by pecuniary difficulties; but it was soon in the power of his noble patrons to serve him effectually. A political change—silent and gradual, but of the highest importance—was in daily progress. The accession of Anne had been hailed by the Tories with transports of joy and hope; and for a time it seemed that the Whigs had fallen never to rise again. The throne was surrounded by men supposed to be attached to the prerogative and to the Church; and among these none stood so high in the favor of the sovereign as the Lord Treasurer Godolphin² and the Captain General Marlborough.³

¹ The States of Holland.

² Sidney, Earl of Godolphin (1645–1712), commissioner of the treasury under William III. and lord high treasurer to Queen Anne. He was distinguished for his ability, sagacity, and administrative talents.

³ John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722), one of the greatest of English generals. He entered military service under Charles II., but at the Revolution of 1688 gave in his adhesion to William, Prince of Orange, and

The country gentlemen and country clergymen had fully expected that the policy of these ministers would be directly opposed to that which had been almost constantly followed by William; that the landed interest would be favored at the expense of trade; that no addition would be made to the funded debt; that the privileges conceded to Dissenters¹ by the late King would be curtailed, if not withdrawn; that the war with France, if there must be such a war, would, on our part, be almost entirely naval; and that the government would avoid close connections with foreign powers, and, above all, with Holland.

But the country gentlemen and country clergymen were fated to be deceived, not for the last time. The prejudices and passions which raged without control in vicarages, in cathedral closes, and in the manor houses of foxhunting squires, were not shared by the chiefs of the ministry. Those statesmen saw that it was both for the public interest and for their own interest to adopt a Whig policy, at least as respected the alliances of the country and the conduct of the war. But, if the foreign policy of the Whigs were adopted, it was impossible to abstain from adopting, also, their financial policy. The natural consequences followed. The rigid Tories were alienated from the government. The votes of the Whigs became necessary to it. The votes of the Whigs could be secured only by further concessions; and further concessions the Queen was induced to make.

At the beginning of the year 1704, the state of parties bore a close analogy to the state of parties in 1826. In 1826, as in 1704, there was a Tory ministry divided into two hostile sections. The position of Mr. Canning² and his friends in 1826 corre-

was placed in command of the English forces in the Netherlands, but, on suspicion of correspondence with James II., was for a time in disgrace, and deprived of his command, which was subsequently restored to him when he entered upon that brilliant military career which established his reputation.

¹ Those who separated from the doctrines and ritual of the Established or State Church.

² George Canning (1770-1827), a British orator and statesman, prominent in the political complications during the wars with Napoleon.

sponded to that which Marlborough and Godolphin occupied in 1704. Nottingham and Jersey were, in 1704, what Lord Eldon¹ and Lord Westmoreland were in 1826. The Whigs of 1704 were in a situation resembling that in which the Whigs of 1826 stood. In 1704, Somers, Halifax, Sunderland, Cowper,² were not in office. There was no avowed coalition between them and the moderate Tories. It is probable that no direct communication tending to such a coalition had yet taken place; yet all men saw that such a coalition was inevitable, nay, that it was already half formed. Such, or nearly such, was the state of things when tidings arrived of the great battle fought at Blenheim³ on the 13th of August, 1704. By the Whigs the news was hailed with transports of joy and pride. No fault, no cause of quarrel, could be remembered by them against the commander whose genius had in one day changed the face of Europe, saved the imperial throne,⁴ humbled the house of Bourbon, and secured the Act of Settlement⁵ against foreign hostility. The feeling of the Tories was very different. They could not, indeed, without imprudence, openly express regret at an event so glorious to their country; but their congratulations were so cold and sullen as to give deep disgust to the victorious general and his friends.

49 Godolphin was not a reading man. Whatever time he could spare from business he was in the habit of spending at Newmarket⁶ or at the card table. But he was not absolutely indiffer-

¹ John Scott (1751-1838). He was lord high chancellor from 1801 to 1827.

² William, Earl Cowper (1664-1723), was lord high chancellor in 1707, and created earl in 1718.

³ A village of Bavaria, where Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French and the Bavarians.

⁴ The throne of the Germanic Empire, of which Joseph I. was Emperor from 1705 to 1711, and Charles VI. from 1711 to 1740.

⁵ This act, passed in 1701, fixed the succession to the English throne in Anne and in the Princess Sophia, daughter of the Elector of Hanover, and granddaughter of James I.

⁶ At that time, the chief racing center of England.

ent to poetry, and he was too intelligent an observer not to perceive that literature was a formidable engine of political warfare, and that the great Whig leaders had strengthened their party, and raised their character, by extending a liberal and judicious patronage to good writers. He was mortified, and not without reason, by the exceeding badness of the poems which appeared in honor of the battle of Blenheim. One of these poems has been rescued from oblivion by the exquisite absurdity of three lines: —

“Think of two thousand gentlemen at least,
And each man mounted on his capering beast;
Into the Danube they were pushed by shoals.”

Where to procure better verses the treasurer did not know. He understood how to negotiate a loan, or remit a subsidy; he was also well versed in the history of running horses and fighting cocks; but his acquaintance among the poets was very small. He consulted Halifax; but Halifax affected to decline the office of adviser. He had, he said, done his best, when he had power, to encourage men whose abilities and acquirements might do honor to their country. Those times were over. Other maxims had prevailed. Merit was suffered to pine in obscurity; and the public money was squandered on the undeserving. “I do know,” he added, “a gentleman who would celebrate the battle in a manner worthy of the subject; but I will not name him.” Godolphin, who was expert at the soft answer which turneth away wrath, and who was under the necessity of paying court to the Whigs, gently replied that there was too much ground for Halifax’s complaints, but that what was amiss should in time be rectified, and that in the mean time the services of a man such as Halifax had described should be liberally rewarded. Halifax then mentioned Addison, but mindful of the dignity, as well as of the pecuniary interest, of his friend, insisted that the minister should apply in the most courteous manner to Addison himself; and this Godolphin promised to do.

Addison then occupied a garret up three pair of stairs, over a small shop in the Haymarket.¹ In this humble lodging he was surprised, on the morning which followed the conversation between Godolphin and Halifax, by a visit from no less a person than the Right Hon. Henry Boyle, then chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards Lord Carleton. This high-born minister had been sent by the lord treasurer as ambassador to the needy poet. Addison readily undertook the proposed task,—a task which, to so good a Whig, was probably a pleasure. When the poem was little more than half finished, he showed it to Godolphin, who was delighted with it, and particularly with the famous similitude of the angel.² Addison was instantly appointed to a commissionership worth about two hundred pounds a year, and was assured that this appointment was only an earnest of greater favors.

The “Campaign” came forth, and was as much admired by the public as by the minister. It pleases us less, on the whole, than the “Epistle” to Halifax; yet it undoubtedly ranks high among the poems which appeared during the interval between the death of Dryden and the dawn of Pope’s genius. The chief merit of the “Campaign,” we think, is that which was noticed by Johnson,—the manly and rational rejection of fiction. The first great poet³ whose works have come down to us sang of war long before war became a science or a trade. If, in his time, there was enmity between two little Greek towns, each poured forth its crowd of citizens, ignorant of discipline, and armed with implements of labor rudely turned into weapons. On each side appeared conspicuous a few chiefs, whose wealth had enabled them to procure good armor, horses, and chariots, and whose leisure had enabled them to practice military exercises. One such chief—if he were a man of great strength, agility, and courage—would probably be more formidable than twenty common men; and

¹ A broad street in London where carts filled with hay and straw for sale were formerly allowed to stand.

² See note, p. 56.

³ Homer.

the force and dexterity with which he flung his spear might have no inconsiderable share in deciding the event of the day. Such were probably the battles with which Homer was familiar. But Homer related the actions of men of a former generation ; of men who sprang from the gods, and communed with the gods face to face ; of men, one of whom could with ease hurl rocks which two sturdy hinds of a later period would be unable even to lift. He therefore naturally represented their martial exploits as resembling in kind, but far surpassing in magnitude, those of the stoutest and most expert combatants of his own age. Achilles,¹ clad in celestial armor, drawn by celestial coursers, grasping the spear which none but himself could raise, driving all Troy and Lycia² before him, and choking Scamander³ with dead, was only a magnificent exaggeration of the real hero, who, strong, fearless, accustomed to the use of weapons, guarded by a shield and helmet of the best Sidonian⁴ fabric, and whirled along by horses of Thessalian⁵ breed, struck down with his own right arm foe after foe. In all rude societies similar notions are found. There are at this day countries where the Lifeguardsman Shaw would be considered as a much greater warrior than the Duke of Wellington. Bonaparte loved to describe the astonishment with which the Mamelukes⁶ looked at his diminutive

¹ The hero of Homer's Iliad, the bulwark of the Greeks in the Trojan War.

² Troy was the chief city of the Troad, a promontory of Asia Minor. The story of Troy was considered as mythical, for the most part, until the discoveries of Schliemann, in 1870, apparently identified the city. The Lycians were neighbors and allies of the Trojans.

³ A river near Troy.

⁴ Sidon, an ancient city of Phœnicia, on the Mediterranean, was noted for its manufactures of glass, purple dye, and weapons.

⁵ Thessaly, in ancient Greece, was famous for its breed of horses.

⁶ A body of soldiery composed chiefly of Asiatic youths who were brought into Egypt in the thirteenth century, assassinated the Sultan there, and ruled over the country for several centuries. They were all massacred by Mehemet Ali, at Cairo, in 1811.

figure. Mourad Bey, distinguished above all his fellows by his bodily strength, and by the skill with which he managed his horse and his saber, could not believe that a man who was scarcely five feet high, and rode like a butcher, could be the greatest soldier in Europe.

5.3 Homer's descriptions of war had, therefore, as much truth as poetry requires. But truth was altogether wanting to the performances of those who, writing about battles which had scarcely anything in common with the battles of his times, servilely imitated his manner. The folly of Silius Italicus, in particular, is positively nauseous. He undertook to record in verse the vicissitudes of a great struggle between generals of the first order; and his narrative is made up of the hideous wounds which these generals inflicted with their own hands. Asdrubal flings a spear which grazes the shoulder of the consul Nero; but Nero sends his spear into Asdrubal's side. Fabius slays Thuris and Butes, and Maris and Arses, and the long-haired Adherbes, and the gigantic Thydis, and Sapharus and Monæsus, and the trumpeter Morinus. Hannibal runs Perusinus through the groin with a stake, and breaks the backbone of Telesinus with a huge stone. This detestable fashion was copied in modern times, and continued to prevail down to the age of Addison. Several versifiers had described William turning thousands to flight by his single prowess, and dyeing the Boyne¹ with Irish blood. Nay, so estimable a writer as John Philips,² the author of the "Splendid Shilling," represented Marlborough as having won the battle of Blenheim merely by strength of muscle and skill in fence. The following lines may serve as an example:—

"Churchill, viewing where
The violence of Tallard most prevailed,
Came to oppose his slaughtering arm. With speed
Precipitate he rode, urging his way

¹ The battle of Boyne, in Ireland, between William III. and James II., was fought July 1, 1690, and resulted in the defeat of the latter.

² 1676–1708.

O'er hills of gasping heroes, and fallen steeds
 Rolling in death. Destruction, grim with blood,
 Attends his furious course. Around his head
 The glowing balls play innocent, while he
 With dire impetuous sway deals fatal blows
 Among the flying Gauls. In Gallic blood
 He dyes his reeking sword, and strews the ground
 With headless ranks. What can they do? Or how
 Withstand his wide destroying sword?"

Addison, with excellent sense and taste, departed from this ridiculous fashion. He reserved his praise for the qualities which made Marlborough truly great, — energy, sagacity, military science; but, above all, the poet extolled the firmness of that mind, which in the midst of confusion, uproar, and slaughter, examined and disposed everything with the serene wisdom of a higher intelligence.

Here it was that he introduced the famous comparison¹ of Marlborough to an angel guiding the whirlwind. We will not dispute the general justice of Johnson's remarks on this passage. But we must point out one circumstance which appears to have escaped all the critics. The extraordinary effect which this simile produced when it first appeared, and which to the following generation seemed inexplicable, is doubtless to be chiefly attributed to a line which most readers now regard as a feeble parenthesis:—

"Such as, of late, o'er pale Britannia pass'd."

Addison spoke, not of a storm, but of the storm. The great tem

¹ The lines in which this comparison occurs are as follows:—

"So when an angel by divine command
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
 Such as, of late, o'er pale Britannia pass'd,
 Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
 And, pleased th' Almighty's orders to perform,
 Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm."

pest of November, 1703 — the only tempest which in our latitude has equaled the rage of a tropical hurricane — had left a dreadful recollection in the minds of all men. No other tempest was ever, in this country, the occasion of a parliamentary address or of a public fast. Whole fleets had been cast away. Large mansions had been blown down. One prelate had been buried beneath the ruins of his palace. London and Bristol had presented the appearance of cities just sacked. Hundreds of families were still in mourning. The prostrate trunks of large trees, and the ruins of houses, still attested, in all the southern counties, the fury of the blast. The popularity which the simile of the angel enjoyed among Addison's contemporaries has always seemed to us to be a remarkable instance of the advantage which, in rhetoric and poetry, the particular has over the general.

Soon after the "Campaign," was published Addison's narrative of his travels in Italy. The first effect produced by this narrative was disappointment. The crowd of readers who expected politics and scandal, speculations on the projects of Victor Amadeus,¹ and anecdotes about the jollities of convents and the amours of cardinals and nuns, were confounded by finding that the writer's mind was much more occupied by the war between the Trojans and Rutulians² than by the war between France and Austria; and that he seemed to have heard no scandal of later date than the gallantries of the Empress Faustina.³ In time, however, the judgment of the many was overruled by that of the few; and before the book was reprinted it was so eagerly sought that it sold for five times the original price. It is still read with pleasure. The style is pure and flowing; the classical quotations and allusions are numerous and happy; and we are now and then charmed by that singularly humane and

¹ See Note 3, p. 47.

² A people of ancient Italy, settled, according to tradition, in Latium, near the seacoast.

³ The name of two Roman ladies, mother and daughter, remarkable for their profligacy.

delicate humor in which Addison excelled all men. Yet this agreeable work, even when considered merely as the history of a literary tour, may justly be censured on account of its faults of omission. We have already said that, though rich in extracts from the Latin poets, it contains scarcely any references to the Latin orators and historians. We must add that it contains little, or rather no information respecting the history and literature of modern Italy. To the best of our remembrance, Addison does not mention Dante,¹ Petrarch,² Boccaccio,³ Boiardo,⁴ Berni,⁵ Lorenzo de Medici,⁶ or Machiavelli.⁷ He coldly tells us that at Ferrara he saw the tomb of Ariosto, and that at Venice he heard the gondoliers sing verses of Tasso. But for Tasso and Ariosto he cared far less than for Valerius Flaccus⁸ and Sidonius Apollinaris.⁹ The gentle flow of the Ticin¹⁰ brings a line of Silius¹¹ to his mind. The sulphurous steam of Albula suggests to him several passages of Martial.¹² But he has not a word to say of the illustrious dead of Santa Croce;¹³ he crosses the wood of Ra-

¹ The greatest of Italian poets (1265-1321), author of the *Divina Commedia*, in which he describes his vision of hell, purgatory, and paradise.

² An illustrious poet of Italy (1304-74), whose sonnets and lyric poems are noted for their exquisite melodies and great delicacy of feeling.

³ A celebrated Italian novelist (1313-75), author of the *Decameron*.

⁴ An Italian poet (1434-94), author of the *Orlando Innamorato*.

⁵ An Italian poet of the sixteenth century, whose style was remarkable for its gracefulness and purity.

⁶ Styled the Magnificent (1448-92), the most illustrious of the great Medici family in Florence.

⁷ A celebrated Florentine statesman and historian (1469-1527), infamous and perfidious in politics.

⁸ A Roman poet of the time of Vespasian (A.D. 9-79), of whose life nothing is known.

⁹ A writer and churchman of the fifth century A.D.

¹⁰ Properly Ticino, a river of Switzerland and Northern Italy, which flows through Lake Maggiore, and unites with the Po near Pavia.

¹¹ Silius Italicus (see Note 4, p. 24).

¹² A Latin poet and epigrammatist, born in Spain about A.D. 40.

¹³ The Church of Santa Croce in Florence contains the remains and tombs of many of the greatest men of modern Italy.

venna¹ without recollecting the Specter Huntsman, and wanders up and down Rimini² without one thought of Francesca.³ At Paris he had eagerly sought an introduction to Boileau; but he seems not to have been at all aware that at Florence he was in the vicinity of a poet with whom Boileau could not sustain a comparison,—of the greatest lyric poet of modern times, Vincenzo Filicaja. This is the more remarkable because Filicaja was the favorite poet of the accomplished Somers, under whose protection Addison traveled, and to whom the account of the travels is dedicated. The truth is, that Addison knew little, and cared less, about the literature of modern Italy. His favorite models were Latin. His favorite critics were French. Half the Tuscan poetry that he had read seemed to him monstrous, and the other half tawdry.

59 His travels were followed by the lively opera of “Rosamond.” This piece was ill set to music, and therefore failed on the stage; but it completely succeeded in print, and is indeed excellent in its kind. The smoothness with which the verses glide, and the elasticity with which they bound, is, to our ears at least, very pleasing. We are inclined to think that if Addison had left heroic couplets to Pope, and blank verse to Rowe,⁴ and had employed himself in writing airy and spirited songs, his reputation as a poet would have stood far higher than it now does. Some years after his death, “Rosamond” was set to new music by Dr. Arne, and was performed with complete success. Several passages long retained their popularity, and were daily sung, during the latter part of the reign of George II., at all the harpsichords in England.

While Addison thus amused himself, his prospects and the

¹ An ancient city of Italy. Dante was buried there.

² A city on the shore of the Adriatic.

³ The tragic story of Francesca da Rimini forms an episode in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

⁴ Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718), a dramatist and translator, who wrote several plays, and in 1709 published the first critical edition of Shakespeare.

prospects of his party were constantly becoming brighter and brighter. In the spring of 1705, the ministers were freed from the restraint imposed by a House of Commons in which Tories of the most perverse class had the ascendancy. The elections were favorable to the Whigs. The coalition which had been tacitly and gradually formed was now openly avowed. The Great Seal¹ was given to Cowper. Somers and Halifax were sworn of the Council. Halifax was sent in the following year to carry the decorations of the order of the garter to the Electoral Prince of Hanover,² and was accompanied on this honorable mission by Addison, who had just been made undersecretary of state. The secretary of state under whom Addison first served was Sir Charles Hedges, a Tory; but Hedges was soon dismissed to make room for the most vehement of Whigs, Charles, Earl of Sunderland. In every department of the state, indeed, the High Churchmen were compelled to give place to their opponents. At the close of 1707, the Tories who still remained in office strove to rally, with Harley³ at their head; but the attempt, though favored by the Queen,—who had always been a Tory at heart, and who had now quarreled with the Duchess of Marlborough,⁴—was unsuccessful. The time was not yet. The captain general was at the height of popularity and glory. The

¹ The Great Seal, the specific emblem of sovereignty in England, is appended only to the most important class of documents. It is in charge of a lord keeper.

² George, son of the Princess Sophia of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. He was made King of England, as George I., on the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

³ Earl of Oxford (1661–1724), a prominent but vacillating politician, chancellor of the exchequer under Queen Anne. On the accession of George I., he was impeached for alleged complicity with the Jacobites, and imprisoned in the Tower for two years.

⁴ Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744), a woman of strong character and imperious temper. She enjoyed the entire confidence of Queen Anne, and was for many years the “power behind the throne,” dispensing places and favors at her pleasure. Her rule became intolerable, however, in time, and she retired from the Queen’s service in 1711.

Low Church party had a majority in Parliament. The country squires and rectors, though occasionally uttering a savage growl, were for the most part in a state of torpor, which lasted till they were roused into activity, and indeed into madness, by the prosecution of Sacheverell.¹ Harley and his adherents were compelled to retire. The victory of the Whigs was complete. At the general election of 1708, their strength in the House of Commons became irresistible; and before the end of that year Somers was made lord president of the Council, and Wharton² lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Addison sat for Malmesbury in the House of Commons which was elected in 1708; but the House of Commons was not the field for him. The bashfulness of his nature made his wit and eloquence useless in debate. He once rose, but could not overcome his diffidence, and ever after remained silent. Nobody can think it strange that a great writer should fail as a speaker; but many probably will think it strange that Addison's failure as a speaker should have had no unfavorable effect on his success as a politician. In our time, a man of high rank and great fortune might, though speaking very little and very ill, hold a considerable post; but it would now be inconceivable that a mere adventurer—a man who, when out of office, must live by his pen—should in a few years become successively undersecretary of state, chief secretary for Ireland, and secretary of state, without some oratorical talent. Addison, without high birth and with little property, rose to a post which dukes, the heads of the great houses of Talbot, Russell, and Bentinck, have thought it an honor to fill. Without opening his lips in debate, he rose to

¹ Henry Sacheverell, D.D. (1672–1724), a college mate of Addison, who gained great notoriety by the delivery of two sermons reflecting upon the government, which led to his imprisonment, and his suspension for three years.

² Thomas, Marquis of Wharton (1640–1715), an eminent Whig statesman, reputed author of the ballad of Lilliburlero, and lord lieutenant of Ireland from 1708 to 1710, with Addison for his chief secretary.

a post, the highest that Chatham¹ or Fox² ever reached; and this he did before he had been nine years in Parliament. We must look for the explanation of this seeming miracle to the peculiar circumstances in which that generation was placed. During the interval which elapsed between the time when the censorship of the press ceased, and the time when parliamentary proceedings began to be freely reported, literary talents were, to a public man, of much more importance, and oratorical talents of much less importance, than in our time. At present, the best way of giving rapid and wide publicity to a fact or an argument is to introduce that fact or argument into a speech made in Parliament. If a political tract were to appear superior to "The Conduct of the Allies,"³ or to the best numbers of the "Freeholder," the circulation of such a tract would be languid indeed, when compared with the circulation of every remarkable word uttered in the deliberations of the Legislature. A speech made in the House of Commons at four in the morning is on thirty thousand tables before ten. A speech made on the Monday is read on the Wednesday by multitudes in Antrim and Aberdeenshire.⁴ The orator, by the help of the shorthand writer, has to a great extent superseded the pamphleteer. It was not so in the reign of Anne. The best speech could then produce no effect except on those who heard it. It was only by means of the press, that the opinion of the public without doors could be influenced; and the opinion of the public without doors could not but be of the highest importance in a country governed by parliaments, and indeed

¹ William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (1708-78), orator, and prime minister under George III.

² Charles James Fox (1749-1806), a brilliant orator and statesman, the rival of Chatham. He opposed the coercive measures adopted against the American Colonies, took an active part in all the great political events of the time, and prepared a bill for the abolition of the slave trade.

³ The title of a pamphlet written by Dean Swift in 1711, the purpose of which was to persuade the nation to a peaceful solution of its quarrel with France.

⁴ Antrim is in Ireland, and Aberdeenshire in Scotland.

at that time governed by triennial parliaments. The pen was therefore a more formidable political engine than the tongue. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox contended only in Parliament. But Walpole¹ and Pulteney,² the Pitt and Fox of an earlier period, had not done half of what was necessary when they sat down amidst the acclamations of the House of Commons. They had still to plead their cause before the country, and this they could do only by means of the press. Their works are now forgotten; but it is certain that there were in Grub Street³ few more assiduous scribblers of Thoughts, Letters, Answers, Remarks, than these two great chiefs of parties. Pulteney, when leader of the Opposition, and possessed of thirty thousand a year, edited the "Craftsman." Walpole, though not a man of literary habits, was the author of at least ten pamphlets, and retouched and corrected many more. These facts sufficiently show of how great importance literary assistance then was to the contending parties. St. John⁴ was certainly, in Anne's reign, the best Tory speaker; Cowper was probably the best Whig speaker: but it may well be doubted whether St. John did so much for the Tories as Swift, and whether Cowper did so much for the Whigs as Addison. When these things are duly considered, it will not be thought strange that Addison should have climbed higher in the State than any other Englishman has ever, by means merely of literary talents, been able to climb. Swift would in all probability have climbed as high if he had not been encumbered by his cassock

¹ Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), an English statesman, leader of the Whig party in Parliament. Under George I. he was made chancellor of the exchequer and prime minister.

² William Pulteney (1682-1764) was at first a friend and colleague of Sir Robert Walpole, but subsequently led a coalition against him. He assisted Bolingbroke in writing the *Craftsman*, was made member of the Privy Council, and created Earl of Bath.

³ A street in London inhabited mostly by literary hacks and penniless writers, which became a proverb to denote any mean production in literature.

⁴ Lord Bolingbroke.

and his pudding sleeves.¹ As far as the homage of the great went, Swift had as much of it as if he had been lord treasurer.

To the influence which Addison derived from his literary talents was added all the influence which arises from character. The world, always ready to think the worst of needy political adventurers, was forced to make one exception. Restlessness, violence, audacity, laxity of principle, are the vices ordinarily attributed to that class of men. But faction itself could not deny that Addison had, through all changes of fortune, been strictly faithful to his early opinions and to his early friends; that his integrity was without stain; that his whole deportment indicated a fine sense of the becoming; that, in the utmost heat of controversy, his zeal was tempered by a regard for truth, humanity, and social decorum; that no outrage could ever provoke him to retaliation unworthy of a Christian and a gentleman; and that his only faults were a too sensitive delicacy and a modesty which amounted to bashfulness.

He was undoubtedly one of the most popular men of his time; and much of his popularity he owed, we believe, to that very timidity which his friends lamented. That timidity often prevented him from exhibiting his talents to the best advantage; but it propitiated Nemesis.² It averted that envy which would otherwise have been excited by fame so splendid, and by so rapid an elevation. No man is so great a favorite with the public as he who is at once an object of admiration, of respect, and of pity; and such were the feelings which Addison inspired. Those who enjoyed the privilege of hearing his familiar conversation declared with one voice that it was superior even to his writings. The brilliant Mary Montagu³ said that she had known all the

¹ A cassock is a long loose outer coat worn by the priests and choristers in the Anglican and Roman-Catholic churches. Pudding sleeves are the lawn sleeves of a dean's or bishop's gown.

² In Greek mythology, the goddess of vengeance, whose business it was to punish wickedness.

³ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1690-1762), an English lady of distin-

wits, and that Addison was the best company in the world. The malignant Pope was forced to own that there was a charm in Addison's talk which could be found nowhere else. Swift, when burning with animosity against the Whigs, could not but confess to Stella¹ that, after all, he had never known any associate so agreeable as Addison. Steele,² an excellent judge of lively conversation, said that the conversation of Addison was at once the most polite and the most mirthful that could be imagined; that it was Terence³ and Catullus in one, heightened by an exquisite something which was neither Terence nor Catullus, but Addison alone. Young, an excellent judge of serious conversation, said, that, when Addison was at his ease, he went on in a noble strain of thought and language, so as to chain the attention of every hearer. Nor were Addison's great colloquial powers more admirable than the courtesy and softness of heart which appeared in his conversation. At the same time, it would be too much to say that he was wholly devoid of the malice which is, perhaps, inseparable from a keen sense of the ludicrous. He had one habit which both Swift and Stella applauded, and which we hardly know how to blame. If his first attempts to set a presuming dunce right were ill received, he changed his tone, "assented with civil leer," and lured the flattered coxcomb deeper and deeper into absurdity. That such was his practice we should, we think, have guessed from his works. The "Tatler's" criticisms on Mr. Softly's sonnet, and the "Spectator's" dialogue with the politician who is so zealous for the honor of Lady Q—p—t—s,⁴ are excellent specimens of this innocent mischief.

guished literary attainments who lived for some years in Constantinople, and wrote interesting letters from there to Pope, Addison, and other eminent men. She first introduced into England the practice of inoculation for smallpox.

¹ Name given by Swift to Miss Johnson, to whom he wrote his *Journal*.

² Sir Richard Steele was born in 1671, died in 1729.

³ An author of comedies in the Latin tongue, supposed to have been born about 194 B.C.

⁴ It is not clear whether this is a real or a fictitious personage (see *Spectator*, Nos. 567, 568).

Such were Addison's talents for conversation. But his rare gifts were not exhibited to crowds or to strangers. As soon as he entered a large company, as soon as he saw an unknown face, his lips were sealed, and his manners became constrained. None who met him only in great assemblies would have been able to believe that he was the same man who had often kept a few friends listening and laughing round a table from the time when the play ended till the clock of St. Paul's in Covent Garden¹ struck four. Yet, even at such a table, he was not seen to the best advantage. To enjoy his conversation in the highest perfection, it was necessary to be alone with him, and to hear him, in his own phrase, think aloud. "There is no such thing," he used to say, "as real conversation but between two persons."

This timidity—a timidity surely neither ungraceful nor unamiable—led Addison into the two most serious faults which can with justice be imputed to him. He found that wine broke the spell which lay on his fine intellect, and was therefore too easily seduced into convivial excess. Such excess was in that age regarded, even by grave men, as the most venial of all peccadillos,² and was so far from being a mark of ill breeding that it was almost essential to the character of a fine gentleman. But the smallest speck is seen on a white ground; and almost all the biographers of Addison have said something about this failing. Of any other statesman or writer of Queen Anne's reign, we should no more think of saying that he sometimes took too much wine than that he wore a long wig and a sword.

To the excessive modesty of Addison's nature we must ascribe another fault, which generally arises from a very different cause. He became a little too fond of seeing himself surrounded by a small circle of admirers to whom he was as a king or rather as a god. All these men were far inferior to him in ability, and some

¹ Originally the garden of Westminster Abbey (and so called "Convent Garden"), a square in London and a great market of fruits, vegetables, and flowers. The Covent Garden Theater is near it.

² Small sins.

of them had very serious faults. Nor did those faults escape his observation ; for, if ever there was an eye which saw through and through men, it was the eye of Addison. But, with the keenest observation and the finest sense of the ridiculous, he had a large charity. The feeling with which he looked on most of his humble companions was one of benevolence, slightly tinged with contempt. He was at perfect ease in their company ; he was grateful for their devoted attachment ; and he loaded them with benefits. Their veneration for him appears to have exceeded that with which Johnson was regarded by Boswell,¹ or Warburton² by Hurd.³ It was not in the power of adulation to turn such a head, or deprave such a heart, as Addison's ; but it must in candor be admitted, that he contracted some of the faults which can scarcely be avoided by any person who is so unfortunate as to be the oracle of a small literary coterie.

65 One member of this little society was Eustace Budgell, a young templar of some literature, and a distant relation of Addison. There was at this time no stain on the character of Budgell ; and it is not improbable that his career would have been prosperous and honorable, if the life of his cousin had been prolonged. But when the master was laid in the grave, the disciple broke loose from all restraint, descended rapidly from one degree of vice and misery to another, ruined his fortune by follies, attempted to repair it by crimes, and at length closed a wicked and unhappy life by self-murder. Yet, to the last, the wretched man—gambler, lampooner, cheat, forger, as he was—retained his affection and veneration for Addison, and recorded those feelings in the last lines which he traced before he hid himself from infamy under London Bridge.

¹ James Boswell (1740–95), a Scottish gentleman whose *Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson* are pronounced by Macaulay and others the greatest of all biographies.

² William Warburton (1698–1779), a famous English divine, a man of vast reading, but dogmatic and intolerant in his methods of controversy.

³ Richard Hurd (1720–1808), an English prelate and writer, author of several polemical and critical works ; a friend of Warburton.

Another of Addison's favorite companions was Ambrose Philips,¹ a good Whig and a middling poet, who had the honor of bringing into fashion a species of composition which has been called, after his name, Namby Pamby. But the most remarkable members of the little senate, as Pope long afterwards called it, were Richard Steele and Thomas Tickell.²

Steele had known Addison from childhood. They had been together at the Charter House and at Oxford; but circumstances had then, for a time, separated them widely. Steele had left college without taking a degree, had been disinherited by a rich relation, had led a vagrant life, had served in the army, had tried to find the philosopher's stone, and had written a religious treatise and several comedies. He was one of those people whom it is impossible either to hate or to respect. His temper was sweet, his affections warm, his spirits lively, his passions strong, and his principles weak. His life was spent in sinning and repenting; in inculcating what was right, and doing what was wrong. In speculation he was a man of piety and honor; in practice he was much of the rake and a little of the swindler. He was, however, so good-natured that it was not easy to be seriously angry with him, and that even rigid moralists felt more inclined to pity than to blame him when he dived himself into a sponging house,³ or drank himself into a fever. Addison regarded Steele with kindness not unmingled with scorn, tried, with little success, to keep him out of scrapes, introduced him to the great, procured a good place for him, corrected his plays, and, though by no means rich, lent him large sums of money. One of these loans appears, from a letter dated in August, 1708, to have amounted

¹ Ambrose Philips (1671-1749), author of a drama, *The Distressed Mother*, and occasional papers in the *Spectator*.

² Thomas Tickell (1686-1740) published an edition of Addison's works in 1721, and wrote a beautiful elegy upon his death, one of the finest examples of memorial verse in the language.

³ A house where persons arrested for debt were kept for twenty-four hours before lodging them in prison.

to a thousand pounds. These pecuniary transactions probably led to frequent bickerings. It is said that, on one occasion, Steele's negligence or dishonesty provoked Addison to repay himself by the help of a bailiff. We cannot join with Miss Aikin in rejecting this story. Johnson heard it from Savage,¹ who heard it from Steele. Few private transactions which took place a hundred and twenty years ago are proved by stronger evidence than this. But we can by no means agree with those who condemn Addison's severity. The most amiable of mankind may well be moved to indignation when what he has earned hardly, and lent with great inconvenience to himself, for the purpose of relieving a friend in distress, is squandered with insane profusion. We will illustrate our meaning by an example which is not the less striking because it is taken from fiction. Dr. Harrison, in Fielding's² "*Amelia*," is represented as the most benevolent of human beings; yet he takes in execution, not only the goods, but the person, of his friend Booth. Dr. Harrison resorts to this strong measure because he has been informed that Booth, while pleading poverty as an excuse for not paying just debts, has been buying fine jewelry, and setting up a coach. No person who is well acquainted with Steele's life and correspondence can doubt that he behaved quite as ill to Addison as Booth was accused of behaving to Dr. Harrison. The real history, we have little doubt, was something like this: a letter comes to Addison, imploring help in pathetic terms, and promising reformation and speedy repayment. Poor Dick declares that he has not an inch of candle, or a bushel of coals, or credit with the butcher for a shoulder of mutton. Addison is moved. He determines to deny himself some medals which are wanting to his series of the Twelve

¹ Richard Savage (1698-1743), a minor English poet. Dr. Johnson befriended him during his wandering and homeless life in London, and wrote his biography.

² Henry Fielding (1714-54), one of the great masters of English fiction, called by Byron "the prose Homer of human nature." His greatest work is *Tom Jones*.

Cæsars, to put off buying the new edition of Bayle's¹ Dictionary, and to wear his old sword and buckles another year: in this way he manages to send a hundred pounds to his friend. The next day he calls on Steele, and finds scores of gentlemen and ladies assembled. The fiddles are playing. The table is groaning under Champagne, Burgundy, and pyramids of sweetmeats. Is it strange that a man whose kindness is thus abused should send sheriff's officers to reclaim what is due to him?

68 Tickell was a young man, fresh from Oxford, who had introduced himself to public notice by writing a most ingenious and graceful little poem in praise of the opera of "Rosamond." He deserved, and at length attained, the first place in Addison's friendship. For a time Steele and Tickell were on good terms; but they loved Addison too much to love each other, and at length became as bitter enemies as the rival bulls in Virgil.²

At the close of 1708 Wharton became lord lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed Addison chief secretary. Addison was consequently under the necessity of quitting London for Dublin. Besides the chief secretaryship, which was then worth about two thousand pounds a year, he obtained a patent appointing him keeper of the Irish Records for life, with a salary of three or four hundred a year. Budgell accompanied his cousin in the capacity of private secretary.

Wharton and Addison had nothing in common but Whiggism. The lord lieutenant was not only licentious and corrupt, but was distinguished from other libertines and jobbers by a callous impudence which presented the strongest contrast to the secretary's gentleness and delicacy. Many parts of the Irish administration at this time appear to have deserved serious blame; but against Addison there was not a murmur. He long afterwards asserted,

¹ Pierre Bayle (1657-1706), author of the celebrated *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, which has attracted the attention of the learned so much since his day.

² See *Georgics*, iii. 220-225.

what all the evidence which we have ever seen tends to prove, that his diligence and integrity gained the friendship of all the most considerable persons in Ireland.

The parliamentary career of Addison in Ireland has, we think, wholly escaped the notice of all his biographers. He was elected member for the borough of Cavan in the summer of 1709; and in the journals of two sessions his name frequently occurs. Some of the entries appear to indicate that he so far overcame his timidity as to make speeches. Nor is this by any means improbable, for the Irish House of Commons was a far less formidable audience than the English House, and many tongues which were tied by fear in the greater assembly became fluent in the smaller. Gerard Hamilton,¹ for example, who, from fear of losing the fame gained by his single speech, sat mute at Westminster during forty years, spoke with great effect at Dublin when he was secretary to Lord Halifax.

While Addison was in Ireland, an event occurred to which he owes his high and permanent rank among British writers. As yet his fame rested on performances, which, though highly respectable, were not built for duration, and which would, if he had produced nothing else, have now been almost forgotten,—on some excellent Latin verses, on some English verses which occasionally rose above mediocrity, and on a book of travels, agreeably written, but not indicating any extraordinary powers of mind. These works showed him to be a man of taste, sense, and learning. The time had come when he was to prove himself a man of genius, and to enrich our literature with compositions which will live as long as the English language.

In the spring of 1709 Steele formed a literary project, of which he was far indeed from foreseeing the consequences. Periodical papers had during many years been published in London. Most of these were political; but in some of them questions of morality, taste, and love casuistry had been discussed. The literary

¹ William Gerard Hamilton (1729–96), an English statesman, nicknamed “Single-speech Hamilton.”

merit of these works was small indeed, and even their names are now known only to the curious.

Steele had been appointed gazetteer¹ by Sunderland, at the request, it is said, of Addison, and thus had access to foreign intelligence earlier and more authentic than was in those times within the reach of an ordinary news-writer. This circumstance seems to have suggested to him the scheme of publishing a periodical paper on a new plan. It was to appear on the days on which the post left London for the country, which were, in that generation, the Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. It was to contain the foreign news, accounts of theatrical representations, and the literary gossip of Will's and of the Grecian.² It was also to contain remarks on the fashionable topics of the day, compliments to beauties, pasquinades³ on noted sharpers, and criticisms on popular preachers. The aim of Steele does not appear to have been at first higher than this. He was not ill qualified to conduct the work which he had planned. His public intelligence he drew from the best sources. He knew the town, and had paid dear for his knowledge. He had read much more than the dissipated men of that time were in the habit of reading. He was a rake among scholars, and a scholar among rakes. His style was easy and not incorrect, and, though his wit and humor were of no high order, his gay animal spirits imparted to his compositions an air of vivacity which ordinary readers could hardly distinguish from comic genius. His writings have been well compared to those light wines, which, though deficient in body and flavor, are yet a pleasant small drink, if not kept too long, or carried too far.

Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., astrologer, was an imaginary person, almost as well known in that age, as Mr. Paul Pry⁴ or Mr.

¹ An author or publisher of news, authorized by the government.

² Will's and the Grecian, well-known coffeehouses in Queen Anne's time.

³ Lampoons, or squibs, having ridicule for their object; so called from Pasquinado, a famous Italian wit of the fifteenth century.

⁴ A character in a comedy of same name, by John Poole, about 1840.

Samuel Pickwick¹ in ours. Swift had assumed the name of Bickerstaff in a satirical pamphlet against Partridge, the maker of almanacs. Partridge had been fool enough to publish a furious reply. Bickerstaff had rejoined in a second pamphlet still more diverting than the first. All the wits had combined to keep up the joke; and the town was long in convulsions of laughter. Steele determined to employ the name which this controversy had made popular; and in 1709 it was announced that Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., astrologer, was about to publish a paper called the "Tatler."

Addison had not been consulted about this scheme; but, as soon as he heard of it, he determined to give his assistance. The effect of that assistance cannot be better described than in Steele's own words. "I fared," he said, "like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbor to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him." "The paper," he says elsewhere, "was advanced indeed. It was raised to a greater thing than I intended it."

It is probable that Addison, when he sent across St. George's Channel his first contributions to the "Tatler," had no notion of the extent and variety of his own powers. He was the possessor of a vast mine, rich with a hundred ores; but he had been acquainted only with the least precious part of his treasures, and had hitherto contented himself with producing sometimes copper, and sometimes lead, intermingled with a little silver. All at once, and by mere accident, he had lighted on an inexhaustible vein of the finest gold.

The mere choice and arrangement of his words would have sufficed to make his essays classical; for never—not even by Dryden, not even by Temple²—had the English language been written with such sweetness, grace, and facility. But this was

¹ The principal character in Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*, published in 1836.

² Sir William Temple (1628–99), a diplomatist, and writer upon various subjects, whose essays are considered models of English style.

the smallest part of Addison's praise. Had he clothed his thoughts in the half French style of Horace Walpole,¹ or in the half Latin style of Dr. Johnson, or in the half German jargon of the present day, his genius would have triumphed over all faults of manner. As a moral satirist, he stands unrivaled. If ever the best "Tatlers" and "Spectators" were equaled in their own kind, we should be inclined to guess that it must have been by the lost comedies of Menander.

18

In wit, properly so called, Addison was not inferior to Cowley² or Butler.³ No single ode of Cowley contains so many happy analogies as are crowded into the lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller;⁴ and we would undertake to collect from the "Spectators" as great a number of ingenious illustrations as can be found in "Hudibras." The still higher faculty of invention, Addison possessed in still larger measure. The numerous fictions, generally original, often wild and grotesque, but always singularly graceful and happy, which are found in his essays, fully entitle him to the rank of a great poet,—a rank to which his metrical compositions give him no claim. As an observer of life, of manners, of all the shades of human character, he stands in the first class; and what he observed he had the art of communicating in two widely different ways. He could describe virtues, vices, habits, whims, as well as Clarendon.⁵ But he could do something better: he

¹ Earl of Orford (1707–97), son of Sir Robert Walpole. At his seat at Strawberry Hill, near London, he formed a collection of books, manuscripts, pictures, and other works of art, and wrote several works. His incomparable Letters are the best of his writings.

² Abraham Cowley (1618–67), greatly esteemed as a poet in his day, author of an epic poem, the *Davideis*, and a series of amatory poems now little read. His prose essays are written in a very easy and graceful style.

³ Samuel Butler (1612–80), author of *Hudibras*, a long mock-heroic poem ridiculing the Puritans or Roundheads.

⁴ A famous portrait painter (1648–1723), born in Germany, but who resided most of his life in England. He painted the Hampton Court beauties for William III.

⁵ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608–74), lord high chancellor in the reign of Charles I., and author of a History of the Rebellion.

could call human beings into existence, and make them exhibit themselves. If we wish to find anything more vivid than Addison's best portraits, we must go either to Shakespeare or to Cervantes.¹

But what shall we say of Addison's humor, of his sense of the ludicrous, of his power of awakening that sense in others, and of drawing mirth from incidents which occur every day, and from little peculiarities of temper and manner such as may be found in every man? We feel the charm; we give ourselves up to it: but we strive in vain to analyze it.

Perhaps the best way of describing Addison's peculiar pleasantry is to compare it with the pleasantry of some other great satirists. The three most eminent masters of the art of ridicule during the eighteenth century were, we conceive, Addison, Swift, and Voltaire. Which of the three had the greatest power of moving laughter may be questioned; but each of them, within his own domain, was supreme.

Voltaire is the prince of buffoons. His merriment is without disguise or restraint. He gambols; he grins; he shakes the sides; he points the finger; he turns up the nose; he shoots out the tongue. The manner of Swift is the very opposite to this. He moves laughter, but never joins in it. He appears in his works such as he appeared in society. All the company are convulsed with merriment; while the Dean, the author of all the mirth, preserves an invincible gravity and even sourness of aspect, and gives utterance to the most eccentric and ludicrous fancies with the air of a man reading the commination service.²

The manner of Addison is as remote from that of Swift as from that of Voltaire. He neither laughs out like the French wit, nor, like the Irish wit, throws a double portion of severity into his countenance while laughing inwardly, but preserves a look pecul-

¹ The most illustrious of Spanish writers (1547-1616), author of the immortal *Don Quixote*.

² A service of the English Church, read on Ash Wednesday, and containing a recital of God's anger and judgments against sinners.

ially his own,—a look of demure serenity, disturbed only by an arch sparkle of the eye, an almost imperceptible elevation of the brow, an almost imperceptible curl of the lip. His tone is never that either of a Jack Pudding¹ or of a Cynic.² It is that of a gentleman in whom the quickest sense of the ridiculous is constantly tempered by good nature and good breeding.

We own that the humor of Addison is, in our opinion, of more delicious flavor than the humor of either Swift or Voltaire. Thus much, at least, is certain, that both Swift and Voltaire have been successfully mimicked, and that no man has yet been able to mimic Addison. The letter of the Abbé Coyer to Pansophe is Voltaire all over, and imposed, during a long time, on the Academicians of Paris. There are passages in Arbuthnot's³ satirical works which we, at least, cannot distinguish from Swift's best writing. But of the many eminent men who have made Addison their model, though several have copied his mere diction with happy effect, none has been able to catch the tone of his pleasantry. In the "World," in the "Connoisseur," in the "Mirror," in the "Lounger," there are numerous papers written in obvious imitation of his "Tatlers" and "Spectators." Most of those papers have some merit; many are very lively and amusing; but there is not a single one which could be passed off as Addison's on a critic of the smallest perspicacity.

But that which chiefly distinguishes Addison from Swift, from Voltaire, from almost all the other great masters of ridicule, is the grace, the nobleness, the moral purity, which we find even in his merriment. Severity, gradually hardening and darkening

¹ A buffoon who performs tricks, such as the swallowing of a certain number of yards of black pudding, etc.

² A sect of philosophers among the Greeks; so called from their snarling humor and their disregard of the conventional usages of society.

³ Dr. John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), physician to Queen Anne, the friend of Swift and Pope. He was a wit and man of letters, author of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, one of the finest pieces of sarcastic humor in the English language, and also of a number of scientific works.

into misanthropy, characterizes the works of Swift. The nature of Voltaire was, indeed, not inhuman; but he venerated nothing. Neither in the masterpieces of art nor in the purest examples of virtue, neither in the Great First Cause nor in the awful enigma of the grave, could he see anything but subjects for drollery. The more solemn and august the theme, the more monkey-like was his grimacing and chattering. The mirth of Swift is the mirth of Mephistopheles;¹ the mirth of Voltaire is the mirth of Puck.² If, as Soame Jenyns³ oddly imagined, a portion of the happiness of seraphim and just men made perfect be derived from an exquisite perception of the ludicrous, their mirth must surely be none other than the mirth of Addison,—a mirth consistent with tender compassion for all that is frail, and with profound reverence for all that is sublime. Nothing great, nothing amiable, no moral duty, no doctrine of natural or revealed religion, has ever been associated by Addison with any degrading idea. His humanity is without a parallel in literary history. The highest proof of virtue is to possess boundless power without abusing it. No kind of power is more formidable than the power of making men ridiculous; and that power Addison possessed in boundless measure. How grossly that power was abused by Swift and by Voltaire is well known. But of Addison it may be confidently affirmed that he has blackened no man's character, nay, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find in all the volumes which he has left us a single taunt which can be called ungenerous or unkind. Yet he had detractors, whose malignity might have seemed to justify as terrible a revenge as that which men not superior to him in genius wreaked on Bettesworth and on Franc de Pompignan.⁴ He was a politician; he was the best

¹ A sneering, jeering tempter, next to Satan himself.

² The "tricksy" spirit in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

³ Soame Jenyns (1704–87), author, among other religious works, of a *View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*.

⁴ Jean Jacques le Franc, Marquis of Pompignan, a French writer, who, when elected member of the Academy in 1760, delivered a discourse in de-

writer of his party ; he lived in times of fierce excitement, in times when persons of high character and station stooped to scurrility such as is now practiced only by the basest of mankind : yet no provocation and no example could induce him to return railing for railing.

85 Of the service which his essays rendered to morality it is difficult to speak too highly. It is true that, when the "Tatler" appeared, that age of outrageous profaneness and licentiousness which followed the Restoration had passed away. Jeremy Collier¹ had shamed the theaters into something which, compared with the excesses of Etherege² and Wycherley,³ might be called decency ; yet there still lingered in the public mind a pernicious notion that there was some connection between genius and profligacy, between the domestic virtues and the sullen formality of the Puritans. That error it is the glory of Addison to have dispelled. He taught the nation that the faith and the morality of Hale⁴ and Tillotson might be found in company with wit more sparkling than the wit of Congreve, and with humor richer than the humor of Vanbrugh.⁵ So effectually, indeed, did he retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that since his time the open violation of decency has

fense of Christianity, which drew upon him a number of satires and lampoons from Voltaire and others.

¹ A nonjuring preacher in the English Church (1650-1736), author of *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*, for which he has been most justly praised.

² Sir George Etherege (1636-94), a dramatist of the Restoration. He was the inventor of the comedy of intrigue, which reached its perfection in Congreve.

³ William Wycherley (1640-1715), author of several brilliant but licentious comedies produced on the stage during the reign of Charles II.

⁴ Sir Matthew Hale (1609-76), a celebrated lawyer, who, after vain attempts to effect a settlement between Charles I. and the Parliament, ultimately sided with the Commonwealth, and was made a judge under Cromwell in 1653.

⁵ Sir John Vanbrugh (1666-1726), a dramatist and architect. His plays exceed in grossness any of the comic dramas of the period.

always been considered among us as the mark of a fool. And this revolution, the greatest and most salutary ever effected by any satirist, he accomplished, be it remembered, without writing one personal lampoon.

In the early contributions of Addison to the "Tatler" his peculiar powers were not fully exhibited; yet from the first his superiority to all his coadjutors was evident. Some of his later "Tatlers" are fully equal to anything that he ever wrote. Among the portraits, we most admire Tom Folio, Ned Softly, and the Political Upholsterer. The proceedings of the "Court of Honor," the "Thermometer of Zeal," the story of the "Frozen Words," the "Memoirs of the Shilling," are excellent specimens of that ingenious and lively species of fiction in which Addison excelled all men. There is one still better paper of the same class; but though that paper, a hundred and thirty-three years ago, was probably thought as edifying as one of Smalridge's sermons, we dare not indicate it to the squeamish readers of the nineteenth century.

During the session of Parliament which commenced in November, 1709, and which the impeachment of Sacheverell has made memorable, Addison appears to have resided in London. The "Tatler" was now more popular than any periodical paper had ever been, and his connection with it was generally known: it was not known, however, that almost everything good in the "Tatler" was his. The truth is, that the fifty or sixty numbers which we owe to him were not merely the best, but so decidedly the best, that any five of them are more valuable than all the two hundred numbers in which he had no share.

He required at this time all the solace which he could derive from literary success. The Queen had always disliked the Whigs. She had during some years disliked the Marlborough family: but, reigning by a disputed title, she could not venture directly to oppose herself to a majority of both houses of Parliament; and, engaged as she was in a war on the event of which her own crown was staked, she could not venture to disgrace a great and successful general. But at length, in the year 1710, the causes

which had restrained her from showing her aversion to the Low Church party ceased to operate. The trial of Sacheverell produced an outbreak of public feeling scarcely less violent than the outbreaks which we can ourselves remember in 1820 and in 1831. The country gentlemen, the country clergymen, the rabble of the towns, were all, for once, on the same side. It was clear that, if a general election took place before the excitement abated, the Tories would have a majority. The services of Marlborough had been so splendid that they were no longer necessary. The Queen's throne was secure from all attack on the part of Louis:¹ indeed, it seemed much more likely that the English and German armies would divide the spoils of Versailles and Marli² than that a marshal of France would bring back the Pretender³ to St. James's.⁴ The Queen, acting by the advice of Harley, determined to dismiss her servants. In June the change commenced. Sunderland was the first who fell. The Tories exulted over his fall. The Whigs tried, during a few weeks, to persuade themselves that her Majesty had acted only from personal dislike to the secretary, and that she meditated no further alteration; but, early in August, Godolphin was surprised by a letter from Anne, which directed him to break his white staff. Even after this event, the irresolution or dissimulation of Harley kept up the hopes of the Whigs during another month, and then the ruin became rapid and violent. The Parliament was dissolved. The ministers were turned out. The Tories were called to office. The tide of popularity ran violently in favor of the High Church

¹ Louis XIV.

² Versailles, twelve miles from Paris, was the seat of the royal palace built by Louis XIV. Marli, five miles north of Versailles, was famous for the sumptuous chateau erected there at great expense by the same monarch.

³ James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), son of James II., and claiming succession to the English throne for himself and his son Charles Edward.

⁴ St. James's Palace in London became, after 1697, a residence of the British sovereigns, and so remained until Queen Victoria's time: hence the British court is often referred to as the Court of St. James.

party. That party, feeble in the late House of Commons, was now irresistible. The power which the Tories had thus suddenly acquired, they used with blind and stupid ferocity. The howl which the whole pack set up for prey and for blood appalled even him who had roused and unchained them. When, at this distance of time, we calmly review the conduct of the discarded ministers, we cannot but feel a movement of indignation at the injustice with which they were treated. No body of men had ever administered the government with more energy, ability, and moderation; and their success had been proportioned to their wisdom. They had saved Holland and Germany. They had humbled France. They had, as it seemed, all but torn Spain from the house of Bourbon. They had made England the first power in Europe. At home they had united England and Scotland.¹ They had respected the rights of conscience and the liberty of the subject. They retired, leaving their country at the height of prosperity and glory. And yet they were pursued to their retreat by such a roar of obloquy as was never raised against the government which threw away thirteen colonies,² or against the government which sent a gallant army to perish in the ditches of Walcheren.³

None of the Whigs suffered more in the general wreck than Addison. He had just sustained some heavy pecuniary losses, of the nature of which we are imperfectly informed, when his secretaryship was taken from him. He had reason to believe that he should also be deprived of the small Irish office which he held by patent. He had just resigned his fellowship. It seems probable that he had already ventured to raise his eyes to a great lady, and that while his political friends were in power,

¹ The union of England and Scotland under the name of "Great Britain" was established by act of Parliament, July 22, 1706.

² In America in 1776.

³ An island in the Dutch province of Zealand. The Walcheren expedition against Napoleon was planned in 1806, and ended disastrously, seven thousand men dying of malaria.

and while his own fortunes were rising, he had been, in the phrase of the romances which were then fashionable, "permitted to hope." But Mr. Addison the ingenious writer, and Mr. Addison the chief secretary, were, in her ladyship's opinion, two very different persons. All these calamities united, however, could not disturb the serene cheerfulness of a mind conscious of innocence, and rich in its own wealth. He told his friends, with smiling resignation, that they ought to admire his philosophy; that he had lost at once his fortune, his place, his fellowship, and his mistress; that he must think of turning tutor again: and yet that his spirits were as good as ever.

He had one consolation. Of the unpopularity which his friends had incurred, he had no share. Such was the esteem with which he was regarded, that, while the most violent measures were taken for the purpose of forcing Tory members on Whig corporations, he was returned to Parliament without even a contest. Swift, who was now in London, and who had already determined on quitting the Whigs, wrote to Stella in these remarkable words: "The Tories carry it among the new members six to one. Mr. Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed, and I believe, if he had a mind to be king, he would hardly be refused."

The good will with which the Tories regarded Addison is the more honorable to him, because it had not been purchased by any concession on his part. During the general election, he published a political journal entitled the "Whig Examiner." Of that journal it may be sufficient to say, that Johnson, in spite of his strong political prejudices, pronounced it to be superior in wit to any of Swift's writings on the other side. When it ceased to appear, Swift, in a letter to Stella, expressed his exultation at the death of so formidable an antagonist. "He might well rejoice," says Johnson, "at the death of that which he could not have killed." "On no occasion," he adds, "was the genius of Addison more vigorously exerted, and on none did the superiority of his powers more evidently appear."

The only use which Addison appears to have made of the favor

with which he was regarded by the Tories was to save some of his friends from the general ruin of the Whig party. He felt himself to be in a situation which made it his duty to take a decided part in politics. But the case of Steele and of Ambrose Philips was different. For Philips, Addison even condescended to solicit, with what success we have not ascertained. Steele held two places: he was gazetteer, and he was also a commissioner of stamps. The gazette was taken from him; but he was suffered to retain his place in the Stamp Office on an implied understanding that he should not be active against the new government; and he was, during more than two years, induced by Addison to observe this armistice with tolerable fidelity.

Isaac Bickerstaff accordingly became silent upon politics, and the article of news which had once formed about one third of his paper altogether disappeared. The "Tatler" had completely changed its character: it was now nothing but a series of essays on books, morals, and manners. Steele, therefore, resolved to bring it to a close, and to commence a new work on an improved plan. It was announced that this new work would be published daily. The undertaking was generally regarded as bold, or rather rash; but the event amply justified the confidence with which Steele relied on the fertility of Addison's genius. On the 2d of January, 1711, appeared the last "Tatler." At the beginning of March following, appeared the first of an incomparable series of papers, containing observations on life and literature by an imaginary Spectator.

The Spectator himself was conceived and drawn by Addison; and it is not easy to doubt that the portrait was meant to be in some features a likeness of the painter. The Spectator is a gentleman who, after passing a studious youth at the university, has traveled on classic ground, and has bestowed much attention on curious points of antiquity. He has, on his return, fixed his residence in London, and has observed all the forms of life which are to be found in that great city, has daily listened to the wits of Will's, has smoked with the philosophers of the Grecian, and

has mingled with the parsons at Child's and with the politicians at the St. James's.¹ In the morning he often listens to the hum of the Exchange; in the evening his face is constantly to be seen in the pit of Drury Lane Theater. But an insurmountable bashfulness prevents him from opening his mouth, except in a small circle of intimate friends.

These friends were first sketched by Steele. Four of the club—the templar, the clergyman, the soldier, and the merchant—were uninteresting figures, fit only for a background; but the other two,—an old country baronet and an old town rake,—though not delineated with a very delicate pencil, had some good strokes. Addison took the rude outlines into his own hands, retouched them, colored them, and is in truth the creator of the Sir Roger de Coverley and the Will Honeycomb with whom we are all familiar.

The plan of the *Spectator* must be allowed to be both original and eminently happy. Every valuable essay in the series may be read with pleasure separately; yet the five or six hundred essays form a whole, and a whole which has the interest of a novel. It must be remembered, too, that at that time no novel giving a lively and powerful picture of the common life and manners of England had appeared. Richardson² was working as a compositor. Fielding was robbing birds' nests. Smollett³ was not yet born. The narrative, therefore, which connects together the *Spectator's* essays gave to our ancestors their first taste of an exquisite and untried pleasure. That narrative was indeed constructed with no art or labor. The events were such events as occur every day. Sir Roger comes up to town to see Eugenio, as the worthy baronet always calls Prince Eugene, goes with the

¹ Child's and St. James's, well-known clubs in London of that time.

² Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), author of *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, prolix and sentimental novels, once very popular, but now little read.

³ Tobias Smollett (1721–71), novelist and historian, author of *Roderick Random*, *Humphrey Clinker*, and other novels, and of a *History of England*.

Spectator on the water to Spring Gardens,¹ walks among the tombs in the Abbey, and is frightened by the Mohawks,² but conquers his apprehension so far as to go to the theater when the "Distressed Mother"³ is acted. The Spectator pays a visit in the summer to Coverley Hall, is charmed with the old house, the old butler, and the old chaplain, eats a jack caught by Will Wimble, rides to the assizes, and hears a point of law discussed by Tom Touchy. At last a letter from the honest butler brings to the club the news that Sir Roger is dead. Will Honeycomb marries and reforms at sixty. The club breaks up, and the Spectator resigns his functions. Such events can hardly be said to form a plot; yet they are related with such truth, such grace, such wit, such humor, such pathos, such knowledge of the human heart, such knowledge of the ways of the world, that they charm us on the hundredth perusal. We have not the least doubt, that, if Addison had written a novel on an extensive plan, it would have been superior to any that we possess. As it is, he is entitled to be considered not only as the greatest of the English essayists, but as the forerunner of the great English novelists.

We say this of Addison alone; for Addison is the Spectator. About three sevenths of the work are his; and it is no exaggeration to say that his worst essay is as good as the best essay of any of his coadjutors. His best essays approach near to absolute perfection; nor is their excellence more wonderful than their variety. His invention never seems to flag; nor is he ever under the necessity of repeating himself, or of wearing out a subject. There are no dregs in his wine. He regales us after the fashion of that prodigal nabob who held that there was only one good glass in a bottle. As soon as we have tasted the first sparkling foam of a jest, it is withdrawn, and a fresh draught of nectar is

¹ A place of resort for outdoor amusements in London.

² The Mohawks, or Mohocks, were an infamous club of profligate young men, who, under cover of darkness, assaulted wayfarers, men and women, in the streets. They were finally suppressed by royal proclamation.

³ A play by Ambrose Philips, for which Addison wrote a prologue.

at our lips. On the Monday we have an allegory as lively and ingenious as Lucian's "Auction of Lives;"¹ on the Tuesday, an Eastern apologue as richly colored as the tales of Scheherezade;² on the Wednesday, a character described with the skill of La Bruyère;³ on the Thursday, a scene from common life equal to the best chapters in the "Vicar of Wakefield;"⁴ on the Friday, some sly Horatian pleasantry on fashionable follies, on hoops, patches, or puppet shows; and on the Saturday, a religious meditation which will bear a comparison with the finest passages in Massillon.⁵

98 It is dangerous to select where there is so much that deserves the highest praise. We will venture, however, to say that any person who wishes to form a just notion of the extent and variety of Addison's powers will do well to read at one sitting the following papers,—the two "Visits to the Abbey," the "Visit to the Exchange," the "Journal of the Retired Citizen," the "Vision of Mirza," the "Transmigrations of Pug the Monkey," and the "Death of Sir Roger de Coverley."

The least valuable of Addison's contributions to the "Spectator" are, in the judgment of our age, his critical papers; yet his

¹ Lucian, a celebrated Greek author born during the reign of the Roman Emperor Trajan. His works are mostly in the form of dialogues, written in an elegant and witty style, ridiculing the Pagan mythology and the sects of philosophers.

² The Arabian Nights. A certain Persian King married a new bride every day, and put her to death the next morning. One of these, Scheherezade, more discreet than the rest, one evening began telling the King a story, which she broke off late at night at such an interesting point that the King next morning spared her life, and at night begged her to resume the tale. This she did for one thousand nights.

³ A French moralist and novelist (1644-96), whose chief work, the *Characters*, placed him in the highest rank as a master of style.

⁴ A novel by Oliver Goldsmith (1728-74), and one of the classics of English literature.

⁵ A famous French preacher (1663-1742), whose discourses were distinguished for their simplicity, eloquence, and knowledge of the human heart.

critical papers are always luminous, and often ingenious. The very worst of them must be regarded as creditable to him, when the character of the school in which he had been trained is fairly considered. The best of them were much too good for his readers. In truth, he was not so far behind our generation as he was before his own. No essays in the "Spectator" were more censured and derided than those in which he raised his voice against the contempt with which our fine old ballads were regarded, and showed the scoffers that the same gold which, burnished and polished, gives luster to the "*Æneid*" and the "*Odes of Horace*" is mingled with the rude dross of "*Chevy Chace*."¹

It is not strange that the success of the "Spectator" should have been such as no similiar work has ever obtained. The number of copies daily distributed was at first three thousand. It subsequently increased, and had risen to near four thousand when the stamp tax was imposed. That tax was fatal to a crowd of journals. The "Spectator," however, stood its ground, doubled its price, and, though its circulation fell off, still yielded a large revenue both to the state and to the authors. For particular papers, the demand was immense; of some, it is said, twenty thousand copies were required. But this was not all. To have the "Spectator" served up every morning with the bohea and rolls was a luxury for the few. The majority were content to wait till essays enough had appeared to form a volume. Ten thousand copies of each volume were immediately taken off, and new editions were called for. It must be remembered that the population of England was then hardly a third of what it now is. The number of Englishmen who were in the habit of reading was probably not a sixth of what it now is. A shopkeeper or a farmer who found any pleasure in literature was a rarity. Nay, there was doubtless more than one knight of the shire whose country seat did not contain ten books, receipt books and books on farriery included. In these circumstances, the sale of the

¹ A famous old English ballad, commemorating the battle of Otterburn in 1388 between the English and the Scotch, in which the Scots were victorious.

"Spectator" must be considered as indicating a popularity quite as great as that of the most successful works of Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Dickens¹ in our own time.

At the close of 1712 the "Spectator" ceased to appear. It was probably felt that the short-faced gentleman and his club had been long enough before the town, and that it was time to withdraw them, and to replace them by a new set of characters. In a few weeks the first number of the "Guardian" was published; but the "Guardian" was unfortunate both in its birth and in its death. It began in dullness, and disappeared in a tempest of faction. The original plan was bad. Addison contributed nothing till sixty-six numbers had appeared; and it was then impossible to make the "Guardian" what the "Spectator" had been. Nestor Ironside and the Miss Lizards were people to whom even he could impart no interest. He could only furnish some excellent little essays, both serious and comic; and this he did.

Why Addison gave no assistance to the "Guardian" during the first two months of its existence is a question which has puzzled the editors and biographers, but which seems to us to admit of a very easy solution. He was then engaged in bringing his "Cato"² on the stage.

The first four acts of this drama had been lying in his desk since his return from Italy. His modest and sensitive nature shrank from the risk of a public and shameful failure; and, though all who saw the manuscript were loud in praise, some thought it possible that an audience might become impatient even of very good rhetoric, and advised Addison to print the play without hazarding a representation. At length, after many

¹ Charles Dickens (1812-70), whose *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *Master Humphrey's Clock*, *David Copperfield*, and other novels, are among the most popular ever written.

² This drama was based on the history of Cato the Younger, a noble Roman (95-45 B.C.), thoroughly devoted to the Republic. After the defeat of Pompey by Cæsar he retired to Utica in Africa, where, despairing of ultimate success, he put an end to his own life.

fits of apprehension, the poet yielded to the urgency of his political friends, who hoped that the public would discover some analogy between the followers of Cæsar¹ and the Tories, between Sempronius² and the apostate Whigs, between Cato struggling to the last for the liberties of Rome, and the band of patriots who still stood firm round Halifax and Wharton.

Addison gave the play to the managers of Drury Lane Theater, without stipulating for any advantage to himself. They therefore thought themselves bound to spare no cost in scenery and dresses. The decorations, it is true, would not have pleased the skillful eye of Mr. Macready.³ Juba's waistcoat blazed with gold lace; Marcia's hoop was worthy of a duchess on the birthday; and Cato wore a wig worth fifty guineas. The prologue was written by Pope, and is undoubtedly a dignified and spirited composition. The part of the hero was excellently played by Booth.⁴ Steele undertook to pack a house. The boxes were in a blaze with the stars of the peers in opposition. The pit was crowded with attentive and friendly listeners from the Inns of Court and the literary coffeehouses. Sir Gilbert Heathcote, governor of the Bank of England, was at the head of a powerful body of auxiliaries from the city, warm men and true Whigs, but better known at Jonathan's and Garraway's⁵ than in the haunts of wits and critics.

These precautions were quite superfluous. The Tories, as a body, regarded Addison with no unkind feelings. Nor was it for their interest—professing, as they did, profound reverence for law and prescription, and abhorrence both of popular insurrections and of standing armies—to appropriate to themselves reflec-

¹ Caius Julius Cæsar (100–44 B.C.).

² A Roman senator, one of the characters in Addison's *Cato*.

³ William Charles Macready (1793–1873), an actor of great power and original methods, greatly admired in *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Iago*, *Richelieu*, and *Werner*.

⁴ Barton Booth (1681–1733), the favorite tragic actor of the day.

⁵ Two London clubs of that time, frequented by merchants and stock-brokers.

tions thrown on the great military chief and demagogue who, with the support of the legions and of the common people, subverted all the ancient institutions of his country. Accordingly, every shout that was raised by the members of the Kit Cat was echoed by the High Churchmen of the October;¹ and the curtain at length fell amidst thunders of unanimous applause.

The delight and admiration of the town were described by the "Guardian" in terms which we might attribute to partiality, were it not that the "Examiner," the organ of the ministry, held similar language. The Tories, indeed, found much to sneer at in the conduct of their opponents. Steele had on this, as on other occasions, shown more zeal than taste or judgment. The honest citizens who marched under the orders of Sir Gibby, as he was facetiously called, probably knew better when to buy and when to sell stock than when to clap and when to hiss at a play, and incurred some ridicule by making the hypocritical Sempronius their favorite, and by giving to his insincere rants louder plaudits than they bestowed on the temperate eloquence of Cato. Wharton, too, who had the incredible effrontery to applaud the lines about flying from prosperous vice and from the power of impious men to a private station, did not escape the sarcasms of those who justly thought that he could fly from nothing more vicious or impious than himself. The epilogue, which was written by Garth,² a zealous Whig, was severely and not unreasonably censured as ignoble and out of place. But Addison was described, even by the bitterest Tory writers, as a gentleman of wit and virtue, in whose friendship many persons of both parties were happy, and whose name ought not to be mixed up with factious squabbles.

Of the jests by which the triumph of the Whig party was dis-

¹ A Tory club, the resort chiefly of country members of Parliament, whose favorite beverage was October ale.

² Sir Samuel Garth (1660-1718), an eminent physician and mediocre poet, knighted, and appointed court physician, by George I. He is best known in our literary history by his mock-heroic poem, the *Dispensary*.

turbed, the most severe and happy was Bolingbroke's. Between two acts he sent for Booth to his box, and presented him, before the whole theater, with a purse of fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator. This was a pungent allusion to the attempt which Marlborough had made, not long before his fall, to obtain a patent creating him captain general for life.

It was April,* and in April a hundred and thirty years ago the London season was thought to be far advanced. During a whole month, however, "Cato" was performed to overflowing houses, and brought into the treasury of the theater twice the gains of an ordinary spring. In the summer the Drury Lane company went down to the act at Oxford, and there, before an audience which retained an affectionate remembrance of Addison's accomplishments and virtues, his tragedy was acted during several days. The gowmsmen¹ began to besiege the theater in the forenoon, and by one in the afternoon all the seats were filled.

About the merits of the piece which had so extraordinary an effect, the public, we suppose, has made up its mind. To compare it with the masterpieces of the Attic stage,² with the great English dramas of the time of Elizabeth, or even with the productions of Schiller's³ manhood, would be absurd indeed. Yet it contains excellent dialogue and declamation, and, among plays fashioned on the French model, must be allowed to rank high; not, indeed, with "Athalie" or "Saul," but, we think, not below "Cinna,"⁴ and certainly above any other English tragedy of the same school, above many of the plays of Corneille,⁵ above many

¹ Students.

² The dramas of the ancient Greek tragedians.

³ One of the most illustrious of German poets (1759-1805), author of several tragedies, and a number of other works in prose and verse.

⁴ *Athalie*, *Saul*, and *Cinna* were dramas written respectively by Racine, Alfieri, and Corneille.

⁵ Pierre Corneille (1606-84), a celebrated French dramatist of the time of Louis XIV.

of the plays of Voltaire and Alfieri,¹ and above some plays of Racine. Be this as it may, we have little doubt that "Cato" did as much as the "Tatlers," "Spectators," and "Freeholders" united to raise Addison's fame among his contemporaries.

The modesty and good nature of the successful dramatist had tamed even the malignity of faction. But literary envy, it should seem, is a fiercer passion than party spirit. It was by a zealous Whig that the fiercest attack on the Whig tragedy was made. John Dennis² published "Remarks on Cato," which were written with some acuteness and with much coarseness and asperity. Addison neither defended himself nor retaliated. On many points he had an excellent defense, and nothing would have been easier than to retaliate, for Dennis had written bad odes, bad tragedies, bad comedies; he had, moreover, a larger share than most men of those infirmities and eccentricities which excite laughter: and Addison's power of turning either an absurd book or an absurd man into ridicule was unrivaled. Addison, however, serenely conscious of his superiority, looked with pity on his assailant, whose temper, naturally irritable and gloomy, had been soured by want, by controversy, and by literary failures.

But among the young candidates for Addison's favor there was one distinguished by talents from the rest, and distinguished, we fear, not less by malignity and insincerity. Pope was only twenty-five. But his powers had expanded to their full maturity; and his best poem, the "Rape of the Lock," had recently been published. Of his genius, Addison had always expressed high admiration; but Addison had early discerned, what might, indeed, have been discerned by an eye less penetrating than his, that the diminutive, crooked, sickly boy was eager to revenge himself on society for the unkindness of nature. In the "Spectator," the "Essay on Criticism" had been praised with cordial warmth;

¹ The greatest of Italian tragic poets (1749-1803).

² A critic and playwright (1679-1734), whose irritable temper involved him in controversy with many of the writers of his time. Swift lampooned him, and Pope attacked him in the *Dunciad*.

but a gentle hint had been added, that the writer of so excellent a poem would have done well to avoid ill-natured personalities. Pope, though evidently more galled by the censure than gratified by the praise, returned thanks for the admonition, and promised to profit by it. The two writers continued to exchange civilities, counsel, and small good offices. Addison publicly extolled Pope's miscellaneous pieces; and Pope furnished Addison with a prologue. This did not last long. Pope hated Dennis, whom he had injured without provocation. The appearance of the "*Remarks on Cato*" gave the irritable poet an opportunity of venting his malice under the show of friendship; and such an opportunity could not but be welcome to a nature which was implacable in enmity, and which always preferred the tortuous to the straight path. He published, accordingly, the "*Narrative of the Frenzy of John Dennis*." But Pope had mistaken his powers. He was a great master of invective and sarcasm; he could dissect a character in terse and sonorous couplets, brilliant with antithesis: but of dramatic talent he was altogether destitute. If he had written a lampoon on Dennis, such as that on Atticus or that on Sporus,¹ the old grumbler would have been crushed. But Pope writing dialogue resembled—to borrow Horace's imagery and his own—a wolf, which, instead of biting, should take to kicking, or a monkey which should try to sting. The *Narrative* is utterly contemptible. Of argument there is not even a show; and the jests are such as, if they were introduced into a farce, would call forth the hisses of the shilling gallery. Dennis raves about the drama; and the nurse thinks that he is calling for a dram. "There is," he cries, "no peripetia² in the tragedy, no change of fortune, no change at all." "Pray, good sir, be not angry," says the old woman; "I'll fetch change." This is not exactly the pleasantry of Addison.

¹ Atticus is the name used by Pope in his sneering attack upon Addison in his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*; Sporus, that under which he satirizes John, Lord Hervey, known as Lord Fanny, from his foppishness and effeminacy.

² That part of a drama in which the plot is unraveled.

There can be no doubt that Addison saw through this officious zeal, and felt himself deeply aggrieved by it. So foolish and spiteful a pamphlet could do him no good, and, if he were thought to have any hand in it, must do him harm. Gifted with incomparable powers of ridicule, he had never, even in self-defense, used those powers inhumanly or uncourteously; and he was not disposed to let others make his fame and his interests a pretext under which they might commit outrages from which he had himself constantly abstained. He accordingly declared that he had no concern in the *Narrative*, that he disapproved of it, and that if he answered the remarks, he would answer them like a gentleman; and he took care to communicate this to Dennis. Pope was bitterly mortified; and to this transaction we are inclined to ascribe the hatred with which he ever after regarded Addison.

In September, 1713, the "*Guardian*" ceased to appear. Steele had gone mad about politics. A general election had just taken place. He had been chosen member for Stockbridge, and he fully expected to play a first part in Parliament. The immense success of the "*Tatler*" and "*Spectator*" had turned his head. He had been the editor of both those papers, and was not aware how entirely they owed their influence and popularity to the genius of his friend. His spirits, always violent, were now excited by vanity, ambition, and faction, to such a pitch that he every day committed some offense against good sense and good taste. All the discreet and moderate members of his own party regretted and condemned his folly. "I am in a thousand troubles," Addison wrote, "about poor Dick, and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself. But he has sent me word that he is determined to go on, and that any advice I may give him in this particular will have no weight with him."

Steele set up a political paper called the "*Englishman*," which, as it was not supported by contributions from Addison, completely failed. By this work, by some other writings of the same kind, and by the airs which he gave himself at the first meeting

of the new Parliament, he made the Tories so angry that they determined to expel him. The Whigs stood by him gallantly, but were unable to save him. The vote of expulsion was regarded by all dispassionate men as a tyrannical exercise of the power of the majority. But Steele's violence and folly, though they by no means justified the steps which his enemies took, had completely disgusted his friends; nor did he ever regain the place which he had held in the public estimation.

Addison about this time conceived the design of adding an eighth volume to the "*Spectator*." In June, 1714, the first number of the new series appeared, and during about six months three papers were published weekly. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the "*Englishman*" and the eighth volume of the "*Spectator*," between Steele without Addison and Addison without Steele. The "*Englishman*" is forgotten: the eighth volume of the "*Spectator*" contains, perhaps, the finest essays, both serious and playful, in the English language.

Before this volume was completed, the death of Anne produced an entire change in the administration of public affairs. The blow fell suddenly. It found the Tory party distracted by internal feuds, and unprepared for any great effort. Harley had just been disgraced. Bolingbroke, it was supposed, would be the chief minister. But the Queen was on her deathbed before the white staff had been given; and her last public act was to deliver it with a feeble hand to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The emergency produced a coalition between all sections of public men who were attached to the Protestant succession.¹ George I. was proclaimed without opposition. A council, in which the leading Whigs had seats, took the direction of affairs till the new King should arrive. The first act of the lords justices was to appoint Addison their secretary.

There is an idle tradition that he was directed to prepare a letter to the King, that he could not satisfy himself as to the

¹ The exclusion of the heirs of James II., who were Catholics, and the settlement of the crown upon the descendants of Sophia (see Note 5, p. 51).

style of this composition, and that the lords justices called in a clerk, who at once did what was wanted. It is not strange that a story so flattering to mediocrity should be popular, and we are sorry to deprive dunces of their consolation. But the truth must be told. It was well observed by Sir James Mackintosh,¹ whose knowledge of these times was unequaled, that Addison never, in any official document, affected wit or eloquence, and that his dispatches are, without exception, remarkable for unpretending simplicity. Everybody who knows with what ease Addison's finest essays were produced must be convinced, that, if well-turned phrases had been wanted, he would have had no difficulty in finding them. We are, however, inclined to believe that the story is not absolutely without a foundation. It may well be that Addison did not know, till he had consulted experienced clerks who remembered the time when William III. was absent on the Continent, in what form a letter from the Council of Regency to the King ought to be drawn. We think it very likely that the ablest statesmen of our time—Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston,² for example—would, in similar circumstances, be found quite as ignorant. Every office has some little mysteries which the dullest man may learn with a little attention, and which the greatest man cannot possibly know by intuition. One paper must be signed by the chief of the department; another by his deputy; to a third the royal sign manual is necessary. One communication is to be registered, and another is not. One sentence must be in black ink, and another in red ink. If the ablest secretary for Ireland were moved to the India Board, if the ablest president of the India Board were moved to the War Office, he would require instruction on points like these; and we do not doubt that Addison required such instruction when he became, for the first time, secretary to the lords justices.

¹ Statesman and historian (1766–1832). He wrote, among other works, *a History of the Revolution of 1688*.

² Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Palmerston, distinguished English statesmen and prime ministers in the reign of Queen Victoria.

George I. took possession of his kingdom without opposition. A new ministry was formed, and a new Parliament favorable to the Whigs chosen. Sunderland was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Addison again went to Dublin as chief secretary.

At Dublin, Swift resided; and there was much speculation about the way in which the Dean and the Secretary would behave towards each other. The relations which existed between these remarkable men form an interesting and pleasing portion of literary history. They had early attached themselves to the same political party and to the same patrons. While Anne's Whig ministry was in power, the visits of Swift to London, and the official residence of Addison in Ireland, had given them opportunities of knowing each other. They were the two shrewdest observers of their age; but their observations on each other had led them to favorable conclusions. Swift did full justice to the rare powers of conversation which were latent under the bashful deportment of Addison. Addison, on the other hand, discerned much good nature under the severe look and manner of Swift; and, indeed, the Swift of 1708 and the Swift of 1738 were two very different men.

But the paths of the two friends diverged widely. The Whig statesmen loaded Addison with solid benefits. They praised Swift, asked him to dinner, and did nothing more for him. His profession laid them under a difficulty. In the State they could not promote him; and they had reason to fear, that, by bestowing preferment in the Church on the author of the "Tale of a Tub,"¹ they might give scandal to the public, which had no high opinion of their orthodoxy. He did not make fair allowance for the difficulties which prevented Halifax and Somers from serving him, thought himself an ill-used man, sacrificed honor and consistency to revenge, joined the Tories, and became their most formidable champion. He soon found, however, that his old

¹ A powerful satire by Dean Swift, written to promote the interests of the Tory and High Church party.

friends were less to blame than he had supposed. The dislike with which the Queen and the heads of the Church regarded him was insurmountable; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he obtained an ecclesiastical dignity of no great value, on condition of fixing his residence in a country which he detested.

Difference of political opinion had produced, not, indeed, a quarrel, but a coolness between Swift and Addison. They at length ceased altogether to see each other. Yet there was between them a tacit compact like that between the hereditary guests in the "Iliad: "—

Ἐγχεα δ' ἀλλήλων ἀλεώμεθα καὶ δι' ὀμίλον
 Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,
 Κτείνειν, ὃν κε θεὸς γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κίχέω,
 Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ σοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, ἐναίρεμεν, ὃν κε δύνηαι.¹

Iliad, Lib. VI. 226-229.

It is not strange that Addison, who calumniated and insulted nobody, should not have calumniated or insulted Swift; but it is remarkable that Swift, to whom neither genius nor virtue was sacred, and who generally seemed to find, like most other renegades, a peculiar pleasure in attacking old friends, should have shown so much respect and tenderness to Addison.

Fortune had now changed. The accession of the house of Hanover had secured in England the liberties of the people, and in Ireland the dominion of the Protestant caste. To that caste Swift was more odious than any other man. He was hooted and even pelted in the streets of Dublin, and could not venture to ride along the strand for his health without the attendance of armed servants. Many whom he had formerly served now libeled

¹ Bryant's translation: —

“ And let us in the tumult of the fray,
 Avoid each other's spears, for there will be
 Of Trojans and of their renowned allies
 Enough for me to slay, whene'er a god
 Shall bring them in my way. In turn for thee
 Are many Greeks to smite, whomever thou
 Canst overcome.”

and insulted him. At this time Addison arrived. He had been advised not to show the smallest civility to the Dean of St. Patrick's. He had answered, with admirable spirit, that it might be necessary for men whose fidelity to their party was suspected to hold no intercourse with political opponents; but that one who had been a steady Whig in the worst times might venture, when the good cause was triumphant, to shake hands with an old friend who was one of the vanquished Tories. His kindness was soothing to the proud and cruelly wounded spirit of Swift; and the two great satirists resumed their habits of friendly intercourse.

Those associates of Addison whose political opinions agreed with his shared his good fortune. He took Tickell with him to Ireland. He procured for Budgell a lucrative place in the same kingdom. Ambrose Philips was provided for in England. Steele had injured himself so much by his eccentricity and perverseness that he obtained but a very small part of what he thought his due. He was, however, knighted; he had a place in the household; and he subsequently received other marks of favor from the court.

Addison did not remain long in Ireland. In 1715 he quitted his secretaryship for a seat at the Board of Trade. In the same year his comedy of the "Drummer" was brought on the stage. The name of the author was not announced. The piece was coldly received; and some critics have expressed a doubt whether it were really Addison's. To us the evidence, both external and internal, seems decisive. It is not in Addison's best manner; but it contains numerous passages which no other writer known to us could have produced. It was again performed after Addison's death, and, being known to be his, was loudly applauded.

Towards the close of the year 1715, while the Rebellion was still raging in Scotland,¹ Addison published the first number of a paper

¹ The Rebellion in Scotland in 1715 was instigated by the Jacobites, with a view to reinstating the Stuart dynasty on the English throne (see Note 3, p. 80).

called the "Freeholder." Among his political works the "Freeholder" is entitled to the first place. Even in the "Spectator" there are few serious papers nobler than the character of his friend Lord Somers, and certainly no satirical papers superior to those in which the Tory fox hunter is introduced. This character is the original of Squire Western,¹ and is drawn with all Fielding's force, and with a delicacy of which Fielding was altogether destitute. As none of Addison's works exhibit stronger marks of his genius than the "Freeholder," so none does more honor to his moral character. It is difficult to extol too highly the candor and humanity of a political writer whom even the excitement of civil war cannot hurry into unseemly violence. Oxford, it is well known, was then the stronghold of Toryism. The High Street had been repeatedly lined with bayonets in order to keep down the disaffected gownsmen; and traitors pursued by the messengers of the government had been concealed in the garrets of several colleges. Yet the admonition which, even under such circumstances, Addison addressed to the university, is singularly gentle, respectful, and even affectionate: indeed, he could not find it in his heart to deal harshly even with imaginary persons. His fox hunter, though ignorant, stupid, and violent, is at heart a good fellow, and is at last reclaimed by the clemency of the King. Steele was dissatisfied with his friend's moderation, and, though he acknowledged that the "Freeholder" was excellently written, complained that the ministry played on a lute when it was necessary to blow the trumpet. He accordingly determined to execute a flourish after his own fashion, and tried to rouse the public spirit of the nation by means of a paper called the "Town Talk," which is now as utterly forgotten as his "Englishman," as his "Crisis," as his "Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge," as his "Reader:" in short, as everything that he wrote without the help of Addison.

In the same year in which the "Drummer" was acted, and in which the first numbers of the "Freeholder" appeared, the estrange-

¹ Squire Western is one of the characters, a typical foxhunting squire, in Fielding's *Tom Jones*.

ment of Pope and Addison became complete. Addison had from the first seen that Pope was false and malevolent. Pope had discovered that Addison was jealous. The discovery was made in a strange manner. Pope had written the "Rape of the Lock," in two cantos, without supernatural machinery. These two cantos had been loudly applauded, and by none more loudly than by Addison. Then Pope thought of the sylphs and gnomes, Ariel, Momentilla, Crispissa, and Umbriel, and resolved to interweave the Rosicrucian¹ mythology with the original fabric. He asked Addison's advice. Addison said that the poem as it stood was a delicious little thing, and entreated Pope not to run the risk of marring what was so excellent in trying to mend it. Pope afterwards declared that this insidious counsel first opened his eyes to the baseness of him who gave it.

Now there can be no doubt that Pope's plan was most ingenious, and that he afterwards executed it with great skill and success; but does it necessarily follow that Addison's advice was bad? And, if Addison's advice was bad, does it necessarily follow that it was given from bad motives? If a friend were to ask us whether we would advise him to risk his all in a lottery of which the chances were ten to one against him, we should do our best to dissuade him from running such a risk. Even if he were so lucky as to get the thirty thousand pound prize, we should not admit that we had counseled him ill, and we should certainly think it the height of injustice in him to accuse us of having been actuated by malice. We think Addison's advice good advice. It rested on a sound principle, the result of long and wide experience. The general rule undoubtedly is, that, when a successful work of imagination has been produced, it should not be recast. We cannot at this moment call to mind a single instance in which this rule has been transgressed with happy

¹ The Rosicrucians were a sect of visionaries, originating in Germany, and founded by a German nobleman, Rosenkreuz, in the fourteenth century. They pretended to know all sciences, particularly medicine, and to be masters of important secrets, among them the philosopher's stone.

effect, except the instance of the "Rape of the Lock." Tasso recast his "Jerusalem." Akenside¹ recast his "Pleasures of the Imagination," and his "Epistle to Curio." Pope himself, emboldened, no doubt, by the success with which he had expanded and remodeled the "Rape of the Lock," made the same experiment on the "Dunciad."² All these attempts failed. Who was to foresee that Pope would, once in his life, be able to do what he could not himself do twice, and what nobody else has ever done?

Addison's advice was good; but, had it been bad, why should we pronounce it dishonest? Scott tells us that one of his best friends predicted the failure of "Waverley." Herder³ adjured Goethe not to take so unpromising a subject as Faust. Hume⁴ tried to dissuade Robertson from writing the "History of Charles the Fifth." Nay, Pope himself was one of those who prophesied that "Cato" would never succeed on the stage, and advised Addison to print it without risking a representation. But Scott, Goethe, Robertson, Addison, had the good sense and generosity to give their advisers credit for the best intentions. Pope's heart was not of the same kind with theirs.

In 1715, while he was engaged in translating the "Iliad," he met Addison at a coffeehouse. Philips and Budgell were there; but their sovereign got rid of them, and asked Pope to dine with him alone. After dinner, Addison said that he lay under a difficulty which he wished to explain. "Tickell," he said, "translated some time ago the first book of the 'Iliad.' I have promised to look it over and correct it. I cannot therefore ask to see

¹ Mark Akenside (1721-70), poet and physician, and author of the *Pleasures of the Imagination*, a once celebrated poem.

² A mock-heroic poem, in which Pope attacked with merciless satire a number of obscure writers, and with them many worthy persons who had given him no offense.

³ A German writer and philosopher (1744-1803), author of a number of works on science, philosophy, language, and history.

⁴ David Hume (1711-76), a celebrated English historian and philosopher, author of a *History of England* to the period of William and Mary.

yours; for that would be double dealing." Pope made a civil reply, and begged that his second book might have the advantage of Addison's revision. Addison readily agreed, looked over the second book, and sent it back with warm commendations.

Tickell's version of the first book appeared soon after this conversation. In the preface, all rivalry was earnestly disclaimed. Tickell declared that he should not go on with the "*Iliad*." That enterprise he should leave to powers which he admitted to be superior to his own. His only view, he said, in publishing this specimen was to bespeak the favor of the public to a translation of the "*Odyssey*," in which he had made some progress.

Addison, and Addison's devoted followers, pronounced both the versions good, but maintained that Tickell's had more of the original. The town gave a decided preference to Pope's. We do not think it worth while to settle such a question of precedence. Neither of the rivals can be said to have translated the "*Iliad*," unless, indeed, the word "translation" be used in the sense which it bears in the "*Midsummer Night's Dream*."¹ When Bottom makes his appearance with an ass's head instead of his own, Peter Quince² exclaims, "Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated." In this sense, undoubtedly, the readers of either Pope or Tickell may very properly exclaim, "Bless thee, Homer! thou art translated indeed."

Our readers will, we hope, agree with us in thinking that no man in Addison's situation could have acted more fairly and kindly, both towards Pope and towards Tickell, than he appears to have done. But an odious suspicion had sprung up in the mind of Pope. He fancied, and he soon firmly believed, that there was a deep conspiracy against his fame and his fortunes. The work on which he had staked his reputation was to be depreciated. The subscription, on which rested his hopes of a competence, was to be defeated. With this view, Addison had

¹ One of Shakespeare's comedies.

² Bottom and Peter Quince are characters in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

made a rival translation ; Tickell had consented to father it ; and the wits of Button's had united to puff it.

Is there any external evidence to support this grave accusation ? The answer is short. There is absolutely none.

Was there any internal evidence which proved Addison to be the author of this version ? Was it a work which Tickell was incapable of producing ? Surely not. Tickell was a fellow of a college at Oxford, and must be supposed to have been able to construe the "*Iliad* ;" and he was a better versifier than his friend. We are not aware that Pope pretended to have discovered any turns of expression peculiar to Addison. Had such turns of expression been discovered, they would be sufficiently accounted for by supposing Addison to have corrected his friend's lines, as he owned that he had done.

Is there anything in the character of the accused persons which makes the accusation probable ? We answer confidently, Nothing. Tickell was long after this time described by Pope himself as a very fair and worthy man. Addison had been, during many years, before the public. Literary rivals, political opponents, had kept their eyes on him. But neither envy nor faction, in their utmost rage, had ever imputed to him a single deviation from the laws of honor and of social morality. Had he been, indeed, a man meanly jealous of fame, and capable of stooping to base and wicked arts for the purpose of injuring his competitors, would his vices have remained latent so long ? He was a writer of tragedy : had he ever injured Rowe ? He was a writer of comedy : had he not done ample justice to Congreve, and given valuable help to Steele ? He was a pamphleteer : have not his good nature and generosity been acknowledged by Swift, his rival in fame, and his adversary in politics ?

That Tickell should have been guilty of a villainy seems to us highly improbable. That Addison should have been guilty of a villainy seems to us highly improbable. But that these two men should have conspired together to commit a villainy seems to us improbable in a tenfold degree. All that is known to us of their

intercourse tends to prove that it was not the intercourse of two accomplices in crime. These are some of the lines in which Tickell poured forth his sorrow over the coffin of Addison:—

“Or dost thou warn poor mortals left behind,
A task well suited to thy gentle mind?
Oh, if sometimes thy spotless form descend,
To me thine aid, thou guardian genius, lend.
When rage misguides me, or when fear alarms,
When pain distresses, or when pleasure charms,
In silent whisperings purer thoughts impart,
And turn from ill a frail and feeble heart;
Lead through the paths thy virtue trod before,
Till bliss shall join, nor death can part us more.”

In what words, we should like to know, did this guardian genius invite his pupil to join in a plan such as the editor of the “*Satirist*” would hardly dare to propose to the editor of the “*Age*”?

We do not accuse Pope of bringing an accusation which he knew to be false. We have not the smallest doubt that he believed it to be true; and the evidence on which he believed it he found in his own bad heart. His own life was one long series of tricks, as mean and as malicious as that of which he suspected Addison and Tickell. He was all stiletto and mask. To injure, to insult, and to save himself from the consequences of injury and insult by lying and equivocating, was the habit of his life. He published a lampoon on the Duke of Chandos: he was taxed with it, and he lied and equivocated. He published a lampoon on Aaron Hill:¹ he was taxed with it, and he lied and equivocated. He published a still fouler lampoon on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: he was taxed with it, and he lied with more than usual effrontery and vehemence. He puffed himself and abused his enemies under feigned names. He robbed himself of his own letters, and then raised the hue and cry after them. Besides his frauds of malignity, of fear, of interest, and of vanity, there were frauds which he seems to have committed from love of fraud

¹ An obscure poet and dramatist (1685–1750).

alone. He had a habit of stratagem, a pleasure in outwitting all who came near him. Whatever his object might be, the indirect road to it was that which he preferred. For Bolingbroke, Pope undoubtedly felt as much love and veneration as it was in his nature to feel for any human being; yet Pope was scarcely dead when it was discovered, that, from no motive except the mere love of artifice, he had been guilty of an act of gross perfidy to Bolingbroke.

Nothing was more natural than that such a man as this should attribute to others that which he felt within himself. A plain, probable, coherent explanation is frankly given to him: he is certain that it is all a romance. A line of conduct scrupulously fair, and even friendly, is pursued towards him: he is convinced that it is merely a cover for a vile intrigue by which he is to be disgraced and ruined. It is vain to ask him for proofs. He has none, and wants none, except those which he carries in his own bosom.

Whether Pope's malignity at length provoked Addison to retaliate for the first and last time, cannot now be known with certainty. We have only Pope's story, which runs thus: a pamphlet appeared containing some reflections which stung Pope to the quick. What those reflections were, and whether they were reflections of which he had a right to complain, we have now no means of deciding. The Earl of Warwick, a foolish and vicious lad, who regarded Addison with the feelings with which such lads generally regard their best friends, told Pope, truly or falsely, that this pamphlet had been written by Addison's direction. When we consider what a tendency stories have to grow in passing even from one honest man to another honest man, and when we consider that to the name of honest man neither Pope nor the Earl of Warwick had a claim, we are not disposed to attach much importance to this anecdote.

It is certain, however, that Pope was furious. He had already sketched the character of Atticus in prose. In his anger he turned this prose into the brilliant and energetic lines which everybody

knows by heart, or ought to know by heart, and sent them to Addison. One charge which Pope has enforced with great skill is probably not without foundation. Addison was, we are inclined to believe, too fond of presiding over a circle of humble friends. Of the other imputations which these famous lines are intended to convey, scarcely one has ever been proved to be just, and some are certainly false. That Addison was not in the habit of "damning with faint praise" appears from innumerable passages in his writings, and from none more than from those in which he mentions Pope. And it is not merely unjust, but ridiculous, to describe a man who made the fortune of almost every one of his intimate friends, as "so obliging that he ne'er obliged."

That Addison felt the sting of Pope's satire keenly, we cannot doubt; that he was conscious of one of the weaknesses with which he was reproached, is highly probable: but his heart, we firmly believe, acquitted him of the gravest part of the accusation. He acted like himself. As a satirist, he was at his own weapons more than Pope's match, and he would have been at no loss for topics. A distorted and diseased body, tenanted by a yet more distorted and diseased mind; spite and envy thinly disguised by sentiments as benevolent and noble as those which Sir Peter Teazle admired in Mr. Joseph Surface;¹ a feeble, sickly licentiousness; an odious love of filthy and noisome images,—these were things which a genius less powerful than that to which we owe the "Spectator" could easily have held up to the mirth and hatred of mankind. Addison had, moreover, at his command, other means of vengeance, which a bad man would not have scrupled to use. He was powerful in the State. Pope was a Catholic; and in those times a minister would have found it easy to harass the most innocent Catholic by innumerable petty vexations. Pope, near twenty years later, said that "through the lenity of the government alone he could live with comfort." "Consider," he exclaimed, "the injury that a man of high rank

¹ Sir Peter Teazle and Joseph Surface are characters in Sheridan's comedy of the School for Scandal.

and credit may do to a private person, under penal laws and many other disadvantages." It is pleasing to reflect that the only revenge which Addison took was to insert in the "Freeholder" a warm encomium on the translation of the "Iliad," and to exhort all lovers of learning to put down their names as subscribers. There could be no doubt, he said, from the specimens already published, that the masterly hand of Pope would do as much for Homer as Dryden had done for Virgil. From that time to the end of his life, he always treated Pope, by Pope's own acknowledgment, with justice. Friendship was, of course, at an end.

One reason which induced the Earl of Warwick to play the ignominious part of talebearer on this occasion may have been his dislike of the marriage which was about to take place between his mother and Addison. The countess dowager, a daughter of the old and honorable family of the Middletons of Chirk, a family which, in any country but ours, would be called noble, resided at Holland House.¹ Addison had, during some years, occupied at Chelsea a small dwelling, once the abode of Nell Gwynn.² Chelsea is now a district of London, and Holland House may be called a town residence; but, in the days of Anne and George I., milkmaids and sportsmen wandered between green hedges, and over fields bright with daisies, from Kensington almost to the shore of the Thames. Addison and Lady Warwick were country neighbors, and became intimate friends. The great wit and scholar tried to allure the young lord from the fashionable amusements of beating watchmen, breaking windows, and rolling women in hogsheads down Holborn Hill, to the study of letters and the practice of virtue. These well-meant exertions did little good, however, either to the disciple or to the master. Lord Warwick grew up a rake, and Addison fell in love. The

¹ Holland House in Kensington, one of the famous London houses, and, in the early part of this century, the most renowned temple of wit, social graces, and hospitality in England.

² An English actress of profligate character, and for some time a favorite of Charles II.

mature beauty of the countess has been celebrated by poets in language which, after a very large allowance has been made for flattery, would lead us to believe that she was a fine woman; and her rank doubtless heightened her attractions. The courtship was long. The hopes of the lover appear to have risen and fallen with the fortunes of his party. His attachment was at length matter of such notoriety, that, when he visited Ireland for the last time, Rowe addressed some consolatory verses to the Chloe¹ of Holland House. It strikes us as a little strange, that in these verses Addison should be called Lycidas,² a name of singularly evil omen for a swain just about to cross St. George's Channel.

At length Chloe capitulated. Addison was indeed able to treat with her on equal terms. He had reason to expect preferment even higher than that which he had attained. He had inherited the fortune of a brother who died governor of Madras. He had purchased an estate in Warwickshire, and had been welcomed to his domain in very tolerable verse by one of the neighboring squires, the poetical fox hunter, William Somerville. In August, 1716, the newspapers announced that Joseph Addison, Esq., famous for many excellent works both in verse and prose, had espoused the Countess Dowager of Warwick.

He now fixed his abode at Holland House, a house which can boast of a greater number of inmates distinguished in political and literary history than any other private dwelling in England. His portrait still hangs there. The features are pleasing; the complexion is remarkably fair; but in the expression we trace rather the gentleness of his disposition than the force and keenness of his intellect.

Not long after his marriage, he reached the height of civil greatness. The Whig government had, during some time, been

¹ In pastoral poetry, a favorite name for a shepherdess.

² In pastoral poetry, a favorite name for a shepherd. Milton, in his famous elegy of the same name, applies it to his friend Edward King, who was drowned in St. George's Channel.

torn by internal dissensions. Lord Townshend¹ led one section of the cabinet, Lord Sunderland the other. At length, in the spring of 1717, Sunderland triumphed. Townshend retired from office, and was accompanied by Walpole and Cowper. Sunderland proceeded to reconstruct the ministry, and Addison was appointed secretary of state. It is certain that the seals were pressed upon him, and were at first declined by him. Men equally versed in official business might easily have been found; and his colleagues knew that they could not expect assistance from him in debate. He owed his elevation to his popularity, to his stainless probity, and to his literary fame.

But scarcely had Addison entered the cabinet when his health began to fail. From one serious attack he recovered in the autumn; and his recovery was celebrated in Latin verses, worthy of his own pen, by Vincent Bourne, who was then at Trinity College, Cambridge. A relapse soon took place, and in the following spring Addison was prevented by a severe asthma from discharging the duties of his post. He resigned it, and was succeeded by his friend Craggs, a young man whose natural parts, though little improved by cultivation, were quick and showy, whose graceful person and winning manners had made him generally acceptable in society, and who, if he had lived, would probably have been the most formidable of all the rivals of Walpole.

As yet there was no Joseph Hume.² The ministers, therefore, were able to bestow on Addison a retiring pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. In what form this pension was given, we are not told by the biographers, and have not time to inquire; but it is certain that Addison did not vacate his seat in the House of Commons.

Rest of mind and body seemed to have reëstablished his

¹ Charles, Viscount Townshend (1674-1738), when minister at the Hague, negotiated the treaty which pledged the States General to the Hanoverian succession.

² An English economist (1777-1855), a member of Parliament for many years, and active in the promotion of many reforms.

health, and he thanked God, with cheerful piety, for having set him free both from his office and from his asthma. Many years seemed to be before him; and he meditated many works,—a tragedy on the death of Socrates,¹ a translation of the Psalms, a treatise on the evidences of Christianity. Of this last performance, a part, which we could well spare, has come down to us.

But the fatal complaint soon returned, and gradually prevailed against all the resources of medicine. It is melancholy to think that the last months of such a life should have been overclouded both by domestic and by political vexations. A tradition which began early, which has been generally received, and to which we have nothing to oppose, has represented his wife as an arrogant and imperious woman. It is said that, till his health failed him, he was glad to escape from the countess dowager and her magnificent dining room, blazing with the gilded devices of the house of Rich, to some tavern where he could enjoy a laugh, a talk about Virgil and Boileau, and a bottle of claret, with the friends of his happier days. All those friends, however, were not left to him. Sir Richard Steele had been gradually estranged by various causes. He considered himself as one who, in evil times, had braved martyrdom for his political principles, and demanded, when the Whig party was triumphant, a large compensation for what he had suffered when it was militant. The Whig leaders took a very different view of his claims. They thought that he had, by his own petulance and folly, brought them as well as himself into trouble, and though they did not absolutely neglect him, doled out favors to him with a sparing hand. It was natural that he should be angry with them, and especially angry with Addison. But what, above all, seems to have disturbed Sir Richard was the elevation of Tickell, who at thirty was made by Addison undersecretary of state; while the editor of the "Tatler" and "Spectator," the author of the "Crisis," the member for Stockbridge, who had been persecuted for firm adherence to the house

¹ Socrates (469–399 B.C.), the great Athenian philosopher, the story of whose teachings and death is related by his disciple, Plato.

of Hanover, was, at near fifty, forced, after many solicitations and complaints, to content himself with a share in the patent of Drury Lane Theater. Steele himself says, in his celebrated letter to Congreve, that Addison, by his preference of Tickell, "incurred the warmest resentment of other gentlemen;" and everything seems to indicate that, of those resentful gentlemen, Steele was himself one.

While poor Sir Richard was brooding over what he considered as Addison's unkindness, a new cause of quarrel arose. The Whig party, already divided against itself, was rent by a new schism. The celebrated bill for limiting the number of peers had been brought in. The proud Duke of Somerset, first in rank of all the nobles whose religion permitted them to sit in Parliament, was the ostensible author of the measure; but it was supported, and in truth devised, by the prime minister.¹

We are satisfied that the bill was most pernicious, and we fear that the motives which induced Sunderland to frame it were not honorable to him; but we cannot deny that it was supported by many of the best and wisest men of that age. Nor was this strange. The royal prerogative had, within the memory of the generation then in the vigor of life, been so grossly abused, that it was still regarded with a jealousy, which, when the peculiar situation of the house of Brunswick² is considered, may perhaps be called immoderate. The particular prerogative of creating peers had, in the opinion of the Whigs, been grossly abused by Queen Anne's last ministry; and even the Tories admitted that her Majesty, in swamping, as it has since been called, the Upper House, had done what only an extreme case could justify. The theory of the English Constitution, according to many high authorities, was that three independent powers—the sovereign, the nobility, and the commons—ought constantly to act as checks on each other. If this theory were sound, it seemed to follow that to put one of these powers under the absolute control of the other two, was absurd. But, if the number of peers

¹ Lord Sunderland.

² Same as house of Hanover.

were unlimited, it could not well be denied that the Upper House was under the absolute control of the Crown and the Commons, and was indebted only to their moderation for any power which it might be suffered to retain.

Steele took part with the Opposition, Addison with the Ministers. Steele, in a paper called the "Plebeian," vehemently attacked the bill. Sunderland called for help on Addison, and Addison obeyed the call. In a paper called the "Old Whig" he answered and indeed refuted Steele's arguments. It seems to us that the premises of both the controversialists were unsound; that on those premises Addison reasoned well, and Steele ill; and that consequently Addison brought out a false conclusion, while Steele blundered upon the truth. In style, in wit, and in politeness, Addison maintained his superiority, though the "Old Whig" is by no means one of his happiest performances.

At first, both the anonymous opponents observed the laws of propriety. But at length Steele so far forgot himself as to throw an odious imputation on the morals of the chiefs of the administration. Addison replied with severity, but, in our opinion, with less severity than was due to so grave an offense against morality and decorum; nor did he, in his just anger, forget for a moment the laws of good taste and good breeding. One calumny which has been often repeated, and never yet contradicted, it is our duty to expose. It is asserted in the "*Biographia Britannica*," that Addison designated Steele as "little Dicky." This assertion was repeated by Johnson, who had never seen the "Old Whig," and was therefore excusable. It has also been repeated by Miss Aikin, who has seen the "Old Whig," and for whom, therefore, there is less excuse. Now, it is true that the words "little Dicky" occur in the "Old Whig," and that Steele's name was Richard. It is equally true that the words "little Isaac" occur in the "*Duenna*,"¹ and that Newton's name was Isaac. But we confidently affirm that Addison's little Dicky had no more to do with Steele

¹ A comic opera by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, produced at Covent Garden Theater in 1775.

than Sheridan's little Isaac with Newton. If we apply the words "little Dicky" to Steele, we deprive a very lively and ingenious passage, not only of all its wit, but of all its meaning. Little Dicky was the nickname of Henry Norris, an actor of remarkably small stature, but of great humor, who played the usurer Gomez, then a most popular part, in Dryden's "Spanish Friar."

The merited reproof which Steele had received, though softened by some kind and courteous expressions, galled him bitterly. He replied with little force and great acrimony; but no rejoinder appeared. Addison was fast hastening to his grave, and had, we may well suppose, little disposition to prosecute a quarrel with an old friend. His complaint had terminated in dropsy. He bore up long and manfully; but at length he abandoned all hope, dismissed his physicians, and calmly prepared himself to die.

His works he intrusted to the care of Tickell, and dedicated them a very few days before his death to Craggs, in a letter written with the sweet and graceful eloquence of a Saturday's "Spectator." In this his last composition he alluded to his approaching end in words so manly, so cheerful, and so tender, that it is difficult to read them without tears. At the same time, he earnestly recommended the interests of Tickell to the care of Craggs.

Within a few hours of the time at which this dedication was written, Addison sent to beg Gay,¹ who was then living by his wits about town, to come to Holland House. Gay went, and was received with great kindness. To his amazement, his forgiveness was implored by the dying man. Poor Gay, the most good-natured and simple of mankind, could not imagine what he had to forgive. There was, however, some wrong, the remembrance of which weighed on Addison's mind, and which he declared himself anxious to repair. He was in a state of extreme exhaustion, and the parting was doubtless a friendly one on both sides. Gay supposed that some plan to serve him had been in

¹ John Gay (1688-1732), author of a series of pastorals entitled the *Shepherd's Week*, of a collection of fables in verse, and of the *Beggar's Opera*, the best specimen of ballad opera in the English language.

agitation at court, and had been frustrated by Addison's influence. Nor is this improbable. Gay had paid assiduous court to the royal family. But in the Queen's days he had been the eulogist of Bolingbroke, and was still connected with many Tories. It is not strange that Addison, while heated by conflict, should have thought himself justified in obstructing the preferment of one whom he might regard as a political enemy. Neither is it strange, that when reviewing his whole life, and earnestly scrutinizing all his motives, he should think that he had acted an unkind and ungenerous part in using his power against a distressed man of letters who was as harmless and as helpless as a child.

One inference may be drawn from this anecdote. It appears that Addison, on his deathbed, called himself to a strict account, and was not at ease till he had asked pardon for an injury which it was not even suspected that he had committed, for an injury which would have caused disquiet only to a very tender conscience. Is it not, then, reasonable to infer, that, if he had really been guilty of forming a base conspiracy against the fame and fortunes of a rival, he would have expressed some remorse for so serious a crime? But it is unnecessary to multiply arguments and evidence for the defense, when there is neither argument nor evidence for the accusation.

The last moments of Addison were perfectly serene. His interview with his son-in-law is universally known. "See," he said, "how a Christian can die." The piety of Addison was, in truth, of a singularly cheerful character. The feeling which predominates in all his devotional writings is gratitude. God was to him the all-wise and all-powerful friend who had watched over his cradle with more than maternal tenderness; who had listened to his cries before they could form themselves in prayer; who had preserved his youth from the snares of vice; who had made his cup run over with worldly blessings; who had doubled the value of those blessings by bestowing a thankful heart to enjoy them, and dear friends to partake them; who had rebuked the waves

of the Ligurian gulf, had purified the autumnal air of the Campagna,¹ and had restrained the avalanches of Mont Cenis. Of the Psalms, his favorite was that which represents the Ruler of all things under the endearing image of a shepherd, whose crook guides the flock safe, through gloomy and desolate glens, to meadows well watered, and rich with herbage. On that goodness to which he ascribed all the happiness of his life, he relied in the hour of death with the love which casteth out fear. He died on the 17th of June, 1719. He had just entered on his forty-eighth year.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber,² and was borne thence to the Abbey at dead of night. The choir sang a funeral hymn. Bishop Atterbury, one of those Tories who had loved and honored the most accomplished of the Whigs, met the corpse, and led the procession by torchlight, round the shrine of St. Edward³ and the graves of the Plantagenets,⁴ to the chapel of Henry VII. On the north side of that chapel, in the vault of the house of Albemarle, the coffin of Addison lies next to the coffin of Montague. Yet a few months, and the same mourners passed again along the same aisle. The same sad anthem was again chanted. The same vault was again opened, and the coffin of Craggs was placed close to the coffin of Addison.

Many tributes were paid to the memory of Addison; but one alone is now remembered. Tickell bewailed his friend in an elegy which would do honor to the greatest name in our literature, and which unites the energy and magnificence of Dryden to the tenderness and purity of Cowper.⁵ This fine poem was prefixed

¹ A district of Southern Italy, considered one of the most unhealthy tracts in Europe.

² A room or hall in Westminster Abbey; so called from the pictures or tapestries on the wall, of stories from the history of Jerusalem. The famous Westminster Assembly convened there in 1643.

³ Edward the Confessor, King of England 1041-66.

⁴ A line of English Kings, from Henry II. to Richard III.

⁵ William Cowper (1731-1800), author of the *Task*, and many delightful shorter poems.

to a superb edition of Addison's works, which was published in 1721 by subscription. The names of the subscribers proved how widely his fame had been spread. That his countrymen should be eager to possess his writings, even in a costly form, is not wonderful; but it is wonderful, that, though English literature was then little studied on the Continent, Spanish grandees, Italian prelates, marshals of France, should be found in the list. Among the most remarkable names are those of the Queen of Sweden, of Prince Eugene, of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, of the Doge of Genoa, of the Regent Orleans, and of Cardinal Dubois. We ought to add that this edition, though eminently beautiful, is in some important points defective; nor, indeed, do we yet possess a complete collection of Addison's writings.

It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow, nor any of his powerful and attached friends, should have thought of placing even a simple tablet, inscribed with his name, on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed and wept over his pages that the omission was supplied by the public veneration. At length, in our own time, his image, skillfully graven, appeared in Poets' Corner. It represents him, as we can conceive him, — clad in his dressing gown, and freed from his wig, — stepping from his parlor at Chelsea into his trim little garden, with the account of the "Everlasting Club," or the "Loves of Hilpa and Shalum," just finished for the next day's "Spectator," in his hand. Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it, who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue, after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism.

COMPOSITION-RHETORIC

\$1.00

By STRATTON D. BROOKS, Superintendent of Schools,
Boston, Mass., and MARIETTA HUBBARD, for-
merly English Department, High School, La Salle, Ill.

THE fundamental aim of this volume is to enable pupils to express their thoughts freely, clearly, and forcibly.

At the same time it is designed to cultivate literary appreciation, and to develop some knowledge of rhetorical theory. The work follows closely the requirements of the College Entrance Examination Board, and of the New York State Education Department.

¶ In Part One are given the elements of description, narration, exposition, and argument; also special chapters on letter writing and poetry. A more complete and comprehensive treatment of the four forms of discourse already discussed is furnished in Part Two. In each part is presented a series of themes covering these subjects, the purpose being to give the pupil inspiration, and that confidence in himself which comes from the frequent repetition of an act. A single new principle is introduced into each theme, and this is developed in the text, and illustrated by carefully selected examples. These principles are referred to again and again as the subject grows.

¶ The pupils are taught how to correct their own errors, and also how to get the main thought in preparing their lessons. Careful coördination with the study of literature and with other school studies is made throughout the book.

¶ The modern character of the illustrative extracts can not fail to interest every boy and girl. Concise summaries are given following the treatment of the various forms of discourse, and toward the end of the book there is a very comprehensive and compact summary of grammatical principles. More than usual attention is devoted to the treatment of argument. The appendix contains the elements of form, the figures of speech, etc.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

By REUBEN POST HALLECK, M.A. (Yale), Louisville
Male High School

\$1.25

HALLECK'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE traces the development of that literature from the earliest times to the present in a concise, interesting, and stimulating manner. Although the subject is presented so clearly that it can be readily comprehended by high school pupils, the treatment is sufficiently philosophic and suggestive for any student beginning the study.

¶ The book is a history of literature, and not a mere collection of biographical sketches. Only enough of the facts of an author's life are given to make students interested in him as a personality, and to show how his environment affected his work. Each author's productions, their relation to the age, and the reasons why they hold a position in literature, receive treatment commensurate with their importance.

¶ One of the most striking features of the work consists in the way in which literary movements are clearly outlined at the beginning of each chapter. Special attention is given to the essential qualities which differentiate one period from another, and to the animating spirit of each age. The author shows that each period has contributed something definite to the literature of England, either in laying characteristic foundations, in presenting new ideals, in improving literary form, or in widening the circle of human thought.

¶ At the end of each chapter a carefully prepared list of books is given to direct the student in studying the original works of the authors treated. He is told not only what to read, but also where to find it at the least cost. The book contains a special literary map of England in colors.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN LITERATURE

\$1.00

By BRANDER MATTHEWS, A.M., LL.B., Professor
of Literature, Columbia University

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in an extended and appreciative review in *The Bookman* says: "The book is a piece of work as good of its kind as any American scholar has ever had in his hands. It is just the kind of book that should be given to a beginner, because it will give him a clear idea of what to read, and of the relative importance of the authors he is to read; yet it is much more than merely a book for beginners. Any student of the subject who wishes to do good work hereafter must not only read Mr. Matthews's book, but must largely adopt Mr. Matthews's way of looking at things, for these simply written, unpretentious chapters are worth many times as much as the ponderous tomes which contain what usually passes for criticism; and the principles upon which Mr. Matthews insists with such quiet force and good taste are those which must be adopted, not only by every student of American writings, but by every American writer, if he is going to do what is really worth doing. There is little room for division of opinion as to the excellence of Mr. Matthews's arrangement as a whole, and as to the soundness of his judgments. He preserves always the difficult balance between sympathy and justice. . . . In short, Mr. Matthews has produced an admirable book, both in manner and matter, and has made a distinct addition to the very literature of which he writes." ¶ The book is amply provided with pedagogical features. Each chapter includes questions for review, bibliographical notes, facsimiles of manuscripts, and portraits, while at the end of the volume is a brief chronology of American literature.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

ALGEBRA AND GEOMETRY

EXERCISES IN ALGEBRA \$0.50

By EDWARD R. ROBBINS and FREDERICK H. SOMERVILLE, The William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia.

THESE 4000 examples are intended to supplement those contained in the regular text-books. The exercises conform to the usual arrangement, and both in degree of difficulty and in scope include the work prescribed by secondary schools, as well as the college entrance requirements. The grading has been made with great care, and particular stress has been laid on those subjects which form the basis of later study. The frequent reviews and abundant drill teach the pupil how to do a certain set of exercises, and also train him to discriminate between different kinds of examples.

ORIGINAL EXERCISES IN GEOMETRY . . \$0.50

By LEVI L. CONANT, Ph.D., Professor of Mathematics, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

A COLLECTION of 900 theorems, constructions, and numerical problems designed to supply material for original work in plane and solid geometry. Although varied in character and well graded, the exercises have been arranged in a somewhat promiscuous manner, because in the solution of an original problem the student should be given full liberty to apply any method he can devise. An attempt has also been made to gather up in one problem many kindred problems, and to teach new principles. The use of this book will arouse a surprising degree of enthusiasm, and cultivate a remarkable skill in solving original problems. It can be used either for review work in the final year in secondary schools, or to supplement the regular course.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS IN ENGLISH

For Study and Practice

1906-1908

Complete Requirements in one volume. (Eclectic) .	\$0.80
Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar. (Gateway) (Mabie) .	.35
The same. (Rolfe) \$0.56. The same. (Eclectic),	.20
Milton's Minor Poems: L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, and Lycidas. (Gateway) (Jordan),	.35
The same. (Rolfe) \$0.56. The same. (Eclectic),	.20
Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. (Gate- way) (MacDonald) . . . . .	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20
Macaulay's Essay on Addison. (Gateway) (Mc- Clumpha) . . . . .	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20
Macaulay's Life of Johnson. (Gateway) (Clark),	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20

1909-1911

Complete Requirements in one volume. (Eclectic),	\$0.90
Shakespeare's Macbeth. (Gateway) (Parrott) .	.40
The same. (Rolfe) \$0.56. The same. (Eclectic),	.20
Milton's Minor Poems: L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, and Lycidas. (Gateway) (Jordan),	.35
The same. (Rolfe) \$0.56. The same. (Eclectic),	.20
Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. (Gate- way) (MacDonald) . . . . .	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20
<i>Or</i> Washington's Farewell Address, and Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration. (Eclectic) . .	.20
Macaulay's Life of Johnson. (Gateway) (Clark),	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20
<i>Or</i> Carlyle's Essay on Burns. (Gateway) (Mims),	.35
The same. (Eclectic) . . . . .	.20

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARIES

School Editions Revised to Date

PRIMARY SCHOOL DICTIONARY . . . \$0.48

Cloth, 12mo, 336 pages. Containing over 20,000 words and meanings, with over 400 illustrations.

COMMON SCHOOL DICTIONARY . . . \$0.72

Cloth, 12mo, 432 pages. Containing over 25,000 words and meanings, with over 500 illustrations.

HIGH SCHOOL DICTIONARY . . . \$0.98

Cloth, 12mo, 560 pages. Containing about 37,000 words and definitions, with over 800 illustrations.

ACADEMIC DICTIONARY . . . \$1.50

Cloth, 8vo, 739 pages. Containing about 60,000 words and definitions, with over 800 illustrations.

Indexed, \$1.80.

The same. . . Half calf, \$2.75; Indexed, \$3.00

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARIES are the acknowledged authority throughout the English-speaking world. They are more widely used in the home, the office, and the schoolroom than all others combined. They constitute a complete and progressive series, carefully graded, and adapted for all classes. The spelling and punctuation in all leading school-books are based on these dictionaries, which are, therefore, a necessity to every teacher.

¶ There have been issued cheap photographic reprints of the old editions of Webster's Dictionaries, and other cheaply made up books fraudulently using the Webster name. These reprints are of editions over fifty years old, and not only are badly printed, but do not contain the words in common use to-day.

¶ The genuine revised Webster's School Dictionaries are distinguished by the circular trade mark which appears on the cover of each, and by the name of the American Book Company on the title page.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

ESSENTIALS IN HISTORY

ESSENTIALS IN ANCIENT HISTORY . . \$1.50

From the earliest records to Charlemagne. By ARTHUR
MAYER WOLFSON, Ph.D., First Assistant in History,
DeWitt Clinton High School, New York.

ESSENTIALS IN MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY \$1.50

From Charlemagne to the present day. By SAMUEL
BANNISTER HARDING, Ph.D., Professor of Euro-
pean History, Indiana University.

ESSENTIALS IN ENGLISH HISTORY . . \$1.50

From the earliest records to the present day. By
ALBERT PERRY WALKER, A.M., Master in His-
tory, English High School, Boston.

ESSENTIALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY . \$1.50

From the discovery to the present day. By ALBERT
BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., Professor of History,
Harvard University.

THESE volumes correspond to the four subdivisions re-
quired by the College Entrance Examination Board,
and by the New York State Education Department.
Each volume is designed for one year's work. Each of the
writers is a trained historical scholar, familiar with the con-
ditions and needs of secondary schools.

¶ The effort has been to deal only with the things which
are typical and characteristic; to avoid names and details
which have small significance, in order to deal more justly
with the forces which have really directed and governed man-
kind. Especial attention is paid to social history, as well as
to the movements of sovereigns and political leaders.

¶ The books are readable and teachable, and furnish brief
but useful sets of bibliographies and suggestive questions.
No pains have been spared by maps and pictures, to furnish
a significant and thorough body of illustration, which shall
make the narrative distinct, memorable, and clear.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

A BRIEF COURSE IN GENERAL PHYSICS

\$1.20

By GEORGE A. HOADLEY, A.M., C.E.,
Professor of Physics, Swarthmore College

A COURSE, containing a reasonable amount of work for an academic year, and covering the entrance requirements of all of the colleges. It is made up of a reliable text, class demonstrations of stated laws, practical questions and problems on the application of these laws, and laboratory experiments to be performed by the students.

¶ The text, which is accurate and systematically arranged, presents the essential facts and phenomena of physics clearly and concisely. While no division receives undue prominence, stress is laid on the mechanical principles which underlie the whole, the curve, electrical measurements, induced currents, the dynamo, and commercial applications of electricity.

¶ The illustrative experiments and laboratory work, introduced at intervals throughout the text, are unusually numerous, and can be performed with comparatively simple apparatus. Additional laboratory work is included in the appendix, together with formulas and tables.

HOADLEY'S PRACTICAL MEASUREMENTS IN MAGNETISM AND ELECTRICITY. \$0.75

THIS book, which treats of the fundamental measurements in electricity as applied to the requirements of modern life, furnishes a satisfactory introduction to a course in electrical engineering for secondary and manual training schools, as well as for colleges. Nearly 100 experiments are provided, accompanied by suggestive directions. Each experiment is followed by a simple discussion of the principles involved, and, in some cases, by a statement of well-known results.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

SCHOOL CHEMISTRY

\$1.20

By ELROY M. AVERY, Ph.D., LL.D.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

First Lessons in Physical Science (Avery-Sinnott)	\$0.60
Elementary Physics	1.00
School Physics	1.25

THIS course is designed to meet the wants of all secondary schools, and to provide a satisfactory text, a sufficient amount of individual laboratory work, and suitable lecture-table demonstrations. It is an entirely new book, containing the results of the most recent scientific investigations, and constructed in accordance with modern methods of teaching this subject. The work has been arranged as attractively as possible, especially at the beginning, in order to secure and develop the interest and enthusiasm of the pupil. Clearness and accuracy of statement mark the definitions, directions, and explanations. The experiments are simple and instructive, easily performed, and adapted to the use of inexpensive and easily obtainable apparatus.

¶ Unusual space is devoted to chemistry as applied to important industrial processes, such as the manufacture of gas, iron, steel, soap, soda, etc., the refining of petroleum, etc. In fact, every important modern topic pertaining to the science is taken up; the practical application of chemistry to the affairs of everyday life, such as the contamination of water, bread making, the fertilization of soils by the action of nitrifying bacteria, etc., is given due attention.

¶ The treatment of hydro-carbons in series (including the "organic" compounds of the old chemistry) is unusually full, systematic, and simple. The periodic law is here for the first time in an elementary text-book given full statement, clear explanation, and the obedience to which it is entitled.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

BOTANY ALL THE YEAR ROUND

By E. F. ANDREWS, High School, Washington, Ga.

Edition with Flora . . . \$1.50

Edition without Flora . . \$1.00

THIS book has been prepared with the view to encouraging the study of botany in schools where it is now neglected for want of a method suited to their needs. It is intended especially for schools not having a highly organized system of instruction, and can be used without difficulty by teachers who have had no special training. For the most part the experiments described are very simple, and can be performed with homemade appliances within the reach of any school. While the treatment is distinctly practical and scientific, the language is simple and direct, and botanical terms are introduced only as required.

¶ The lessons are arranged according to the seasons, so that each subject will be taken up at just the time of the year when material for it is most easily obtainable. The leaf has been selected as the starting point, followed in turn by fruits, seeds and seedlings, roots and underground stems, buds and branches, and finally flowers. The chapter on ecology, the studies of a few typical cryptogams, the practical questions at the end of each topic, and the suggestions for field work at the close of each chapter, form vital features.

¶ The Flora, which has been prepared especially for use in connection with Andrews's Botany, gives descriptions of over 1,200 species, covering the flowering plants, wild and cultivated, which are most frequently seen in the eastern half of the United States. Each plant is described so exactly and fully as to enable the beginner to determine readily and accurately its genus and species. Because the Flora is brief, it is easy to use, and does not discourage the young pupil with a multitude and diversity of plants.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS

Published Complete and in Sections

WE issue a Catalogue of High School and College Text-Books, which we have tried to make as valuable and as useful to teachers as possible. In this catalogue are set forth briefly and clearly the scope and leading characteristics of each of our best text-books. In most cases there are also given testimonials from well-known teachers, which have been selected quite as much for their descriptive qualities as for their value as commendations.

¶ For the convenience of teachers this Catalogue is also published in separate sections treating of the various branches of study. These pamphlets are entitled : English, Mathematics, History and Political Science, Science, Modern Languages, Ancient Languages, and Philosophy and Education.

¶ In addition we have a single pamphlet devoted to Newest Books in every subject.

¶ Teachers seeking the newest and best books for their classes are invited to send for our Complete High School and College Catalogue, or for such sections as may be of greatest interest.

¶ Copies of our price lists, or of special circulars, in which these books are described at greater length than the space limitations of the catalogue permit, will be mailed to any address on request.

¶ All correspondence should be addressed to the nearest of the following offices of the company : New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Dallas, San Francisco.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

[illegible]

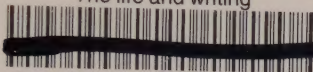
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PR3306.M3 1894

00356800

STACK

The life and writing



3 5049 00130 6089

PR 3306 M3 1894

Macaulay: The life and writings of
Addison

ECLECTIC ENGLISH CLASSICS

ARNOLD'S SOHRAB AND RUSTUM	\$0.20
BURKE'S SPEECH ON CONCILIATION . . . . .	.20
BURNS'S POEMS—Selections . . . . .	.20
BYRON'S POEMS—Selections . . . . .	.25
CARLYLE'S ESSAY ON ROBERT BURNS . . . . .	.20
CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE AND KNIGHT'S TALE . . . . .	.25
COLERIDGE'S RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER . . . . .	.20
COOPER'S PILOT . . . . .	.40
DEFOE'S HISTORY OF THE PLAGUE IN LONDON . . . . .	.40
DE QUINCEY'S REVOLT OF THE TARTARS . . . . .	.20
DRYDEN'S PALAMON AND ARCITE . . . . .	.20
EMERSON'S AMERICAN SCHOLAR, SELF-RELIANCE, COMPEN- SATION . . . . .	.20
FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.35
GEORGE ELIOT'S SILAS MARNER . . . . .	.30
GOLDSMITH'S VICAR OF WAKEFIELD . . . . .	.35
GRAY'S POEMS—Selections . . . . .	.20
IRVING'S SKETCH-BOOK—Selections . . . . .	.20
IRVING'S TALES OF A TRAVELER . . . . .	.50
MACAULAY'S SECOND ESSAY ON CHATHAM . . . . .	.20
MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON MILTON . . . . .	.20
MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON ADDISON . . . . .	.20
MACAULAY'S LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON . . . . .	.20
MILTON'S L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO, COMUS, LYCIDAS . . . . .	.20
MILTON'S PARADISE LOST—Books I and II . . . . .	.20
POPE'S HOMER'S ILIAD—Books I, VI, XXII, XXIV . . . . .	.20
POPE'S RAPE OF THE LOCK and ESSAY ON MAN . . . . .	.20
SCOTT'S IVANHOE . . . . .	.50
SCOTT'S MARMION . . . . .	.40
SCOTT'S LADY OF THE LAKE . . . . .	.30
SCOTT'S THE ABBOTT . . . . .	.60
SCOTT'S WOODSTOCK . . . . .	.60
SHAKESPEARE'S JULIUS CAESAR . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S TWELFTH NIGHT . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S MERCHANT OF VENICE . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S AS YOU LIKE IT . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S MACBETH . . . . .	.20
SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET . . . . .	.20
SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY PAPERS . . . . .	.20
SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF NELSON . . . . .	.40
TENNYSON'S PRINCESS . . . . .	.20
TENNYSON'S IDYLLS OF THE KING—Selections . . . . .	.30
WEBSTER'S BUNKER HILL ORATIONS . . . . .	.20
WORDSWORTH'S POEMS—Selections . . . . .	.20

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

New York

Cincinnati

Chicago

T3-BMB-192

